

# IN THESE TIMES

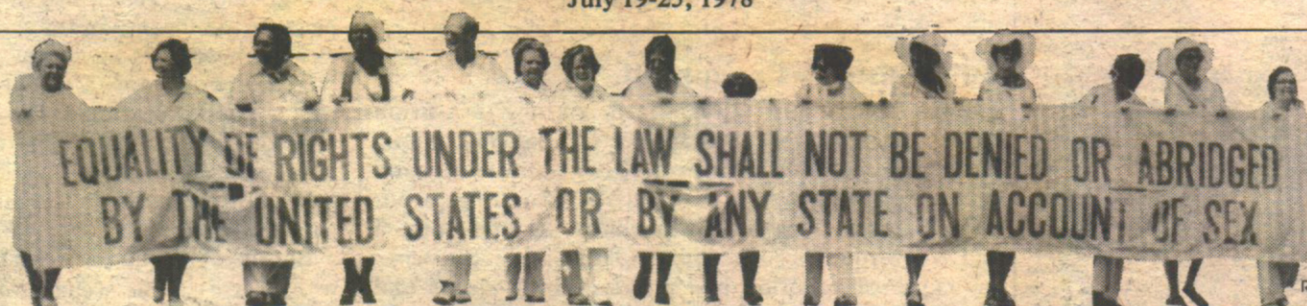
Tom Robinson  
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Vol. 2, No. 35

July 19-25, 1978

50 Cents



Ray Pinkson

## 100,000 E.R.A. MARCHERS SEND A MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

Pests aside, what are these  
chemicals doing to people?



A Special Section on Pesticides and Chemical Defoliants

Photo by George Ballas



# THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Economist Barry P. Bosworth chairs the Council on Wage and Price Stability.

## A handy guide to misunderstanding inflation

Rising budget deficits, corporate control of pricing, and labor's ability to prevent wage decreases and spending cutbacks have created permanent inflation for the last 30 years.

In the current debate on the causes and cures of inflation most government officials, financiers, union leaders, economists, and corporate executives have invariably fastened on one cause or one aspect of inflation to the neglect of others.

The reason for this misunderstanding is political. The same things that cause inflation also sustain the political climate that American capitalism needs to grow and survive. To understand and to eliminate them will mean to eliminate capitalism as we know it.

### Painful adjustment.

The right wing in the inflation debate is represented by the Business Roundtable, the American Enterprise Institute economists, an apparent majority on the Federal Reserve Board, some Democratic and most Republican politicians, bankers and corporate chieftans. For them, big government is to blame for inflation.

Last fall, the First National Bank of Chicago published an analysis of inflation that epitomizes this school of thought. The bank not only lays the blame for inflation squarely on government spending and regulation; it exonerates not only corporations but also labor unions.

According to First National, inflation occurs when demand exceeds supply. In the American economy, this has occurred when government spending, through financing deficits, abnormally increases demand, while government regulation and taxation, by raising costs and discouraging investment, abnormally constricts supply.

To curb inflation, First National recommends that government drastically reduce its deficit and remove unnecessary regulatory barriers to investment, such as minimum wage hikes and new environmental standards. The bank acknowledges that a steep spending cut, by immediately contracting demand, might cause a "painful adjustment," but it believes that the "recessionary

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threat" can be minimized. By sharply cutting business taxes, government can "ease the squeeze on profits."

In making government the scapegoat, the corporate right wing kills two birds with one stone. It allows itself to think that instead of being a sick, aging beast sustained by government remedies, American capitalism is a roaring lion trapped in a government cage. In their eyes, corporate investment has not lagged because of world capitalist overcapacity, but because of OSHA, EPA, the minimum wage, and the corporate income tax.

But also, by omitting the role of corporations and unions, the corporate right wing fends off the threat of government intervention in the market through wage-price controls. If the right wing has to choose between measures that might foreshadow an American state socialism and another depression, it will choose a depression. As Minneapolis Federal Reserve president Mark Wille said recently, "I'm prepared to take the downside risk."

### Anti-elitism on Capitol Hill.

The Carter administration, the Brookings Institution economists, and the corporate liberals scattered among the business establishment reject the right wing's preoccupation with big government. Ex-Brookings economist Barry P. Bosworth, who chairs Carter's Council on Wage and Price Stability (COWPS), sees the primary cause of inflation in "prices chasing wages and wages chasing prices."

These so-called moderates recognize that corporations and labor unions have been able to "limit severely competitive market restraints on wages and prices." They also recognize the useful political role that the trade-off between rising wages and prices has played. "Past inflation has been a lubricant for the social system, a means of avoiding direct conflict among strong competing groups over the distribution of income," COWPS' *Special Report on Inflation* states.

But they believe the process has gone too far. "The steel industry, the automobile industry, the trucking industry—they've been signing these costly contracts, in most cases without strikes," Bosworth complains to *U.S. News and World Report*.

Carter and Bosworth have proposed a "voluntary wage-price deceleration program." Bosworth thinks that inducing labor unions to hold wage increases to 6 percent or less will keep prices from rising above that.

Like the right-wing analysis, Bosworth's view of inflation is dictated by political imperatives. In recent testimony before a subcommittee of the House Banking Committee, Bosworth admitted that government spending played some role in spurring inflation, but he rejected "aggregate demand restraint" as a means for curbing it.

"I am not saying that we could not cure inflation with enough demand restraint," he told the House members. "But I think it would take in excess of 10 million unemployed for several years to do it. You will have to agree that this is a very high price."

But having rejected the inflation cure proposed by many corporate and financial leaders, Bosworth attempts to win them back by singling out labor unions as his inflation target. "How long can this country go on with one elite segment of the workforce getting wage increases that are consistently greater than the wage increases of everybody else?" Bosworth asks in a recent interview, failing to mention that union increases have made any non-union gains possible.

He also accedes to business' and labor's wish that he eschew wage-price controls. Bosworth recognizes that labor and business opposition could effectively sabotage their implementation.

Rejecting sharp budget cuts and wage-price controls in favor of "voluntary standards," Bosworth is left

with no effective means of stopping inflation. In effect, his is a program of jawboning and prayer.

### Breaking the cycle.

Some economists and financiers share Bosworth's and Carter's view of inflation, but not their program for curbing it. They think some wage-price controls will be necessary.

A significant political breakthrough on this score came when the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, in its 1977 *Annual Report*, made favorable mention of incomes policies without favoring a specific program. Federal Reserve Board member Henry C. Wallich and Brookings economist Arthur M. Okun have, however, each proposed specific programs, which they call "tax-based incomes policies."

According to Wallich's scheme, employees would be given increases above a predetermined non-inflationary guidepost. According to Okun's, workers would be given tax incentives for accepting the guidelines.

Both proposals have met with almost universal labor-business opposition. On several technical points, they are quite vulnerable. Would there be a single guidepost for all industry, no matter what its past labor history or present financial condition? And if not, wouldn't this create an immense federal bureaucracy with inordinate power?

But the opposition is more basic. The corporate right wing sees a simple scenario unfolding: first emergency wage-price controls, then permanent controls, since everyone knows that temporary controls merely postpone inflationary outbursts; then government control over investment decisions to prevent corporations from using their investment powers to sabotage controls; and then...socialism.

Labor is obsessed with short-term fears. It knows that business is presently far more powerful and could get its way with any wage-price board, as it was able to do with Richard Nixon's. Labor therefore wants to keep the present system of industry-by-industry collective bargaining.

### What is basic?

But labor's fear of both government spending cuts and wage-price controls has effectively driven it into a corner. It has had all it can handle in combatting Bosworth's attempts to pit it against non-union workers as a "privileged elite."

Even more than the right wing and the moderates, labor's analysis has suffered from its political imperatives. "What are the basic factors behind inflation?" George Meany asks in a recent speech. "One thing—it is not a wage-price push... But what are the basic factors? Rising costs of energy—that's oil, gas—rising costs of food, rising costs of health care, the rising land costs, and perhaps the No. 1 villain, high interest rates."

Except for high interest rates, which are linked to budget deficits, Meany omits all the structural causes of permanent inflation in favor of the contingent causes of accelerated inflation. It is clear why he does so—to avoid the onerous remedies proposed to combat the other causes of inflation.

But it is also clear that Meany's analysis leaves labor and the American left in no position to combat either Bosworth or the right. To do that, labor will have to acknowledge that American capitalism has reached a structural impasse from which only structural changes can extricate it.

In particular, labor will have to acknowledge the inevitability of wage-price controls if there is to be full employment without inflation. The question is not whether such controls should occur, but in what form: whether, as Wallich and Okun propose, they will primarily police labor's wages, or whether they will regulate and oversee corporate profits and investment as well. ■

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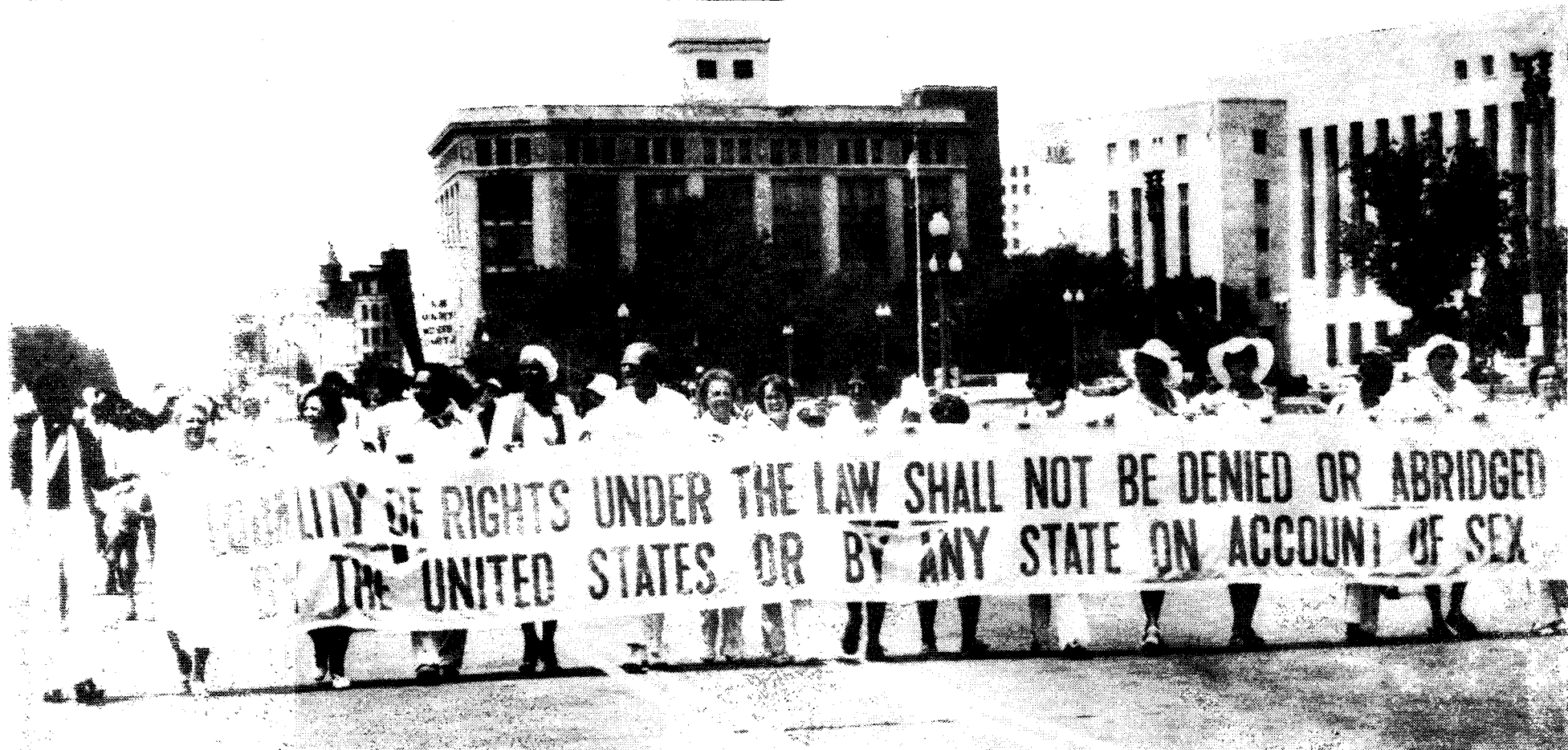
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# March on capital pressures Congress to extend ERA

**We can become radical if they force us. The legislators will find civil disobedience in every state in the country.**

**By Carolyn Projansky and Fern Schumer**

WASHINGTON

*As long as you believe that this is the beginning, then it is.*

—Eleanor Smeal, President, National Organization for Women  
July 9, 1978

**I**T WAS A HOT, MUGGY SUNDAY AFTERNOON as 100,000 white-costumed marchers, bearing banners of purple and gold, formed battalions on the grassy mall below the Capitol. The Equal Rights Amendment was at stake and march organizers—mostly National Organization for Women (NOW) volunteers—had brought out the troops for an impressive, well-staged show of strength.

After six years the battlefield for the ERA is again Washington—and the stakes are high. The fate of the amendment may be determined in the next few weeks as Congress considers a bill to extend the ratification deadline another seven years. The extension amendment is pending in the House Judiciary Committee where a close vote is expected soon.

Widespread fear that the simple, 24-word proclamation will die in the states without congressional action on the extension finally galvanized feminists into launching a massive, organized demonstration. Previously, many had given only lukewarm support for ERA, preferring to be active in more controversial causes.

Although NOW organizers and other feminist leaders of Sunday's march told the crowd it was the beginning, not the end, of a movement, the ERA debate has been kicking around recalcitrant state legislatures for years. So far, 35 states have ratified, three short of the 38 necessary for its adoption. Three states have not only had time to ratify, but also time to rescind that ratification. And now the deadline is less than one year away.

Many present on the mall last weekend conceded that without an extension, ERA's prospects are bleak. That danger attracted many to Washington for the extension march.

Said Sen. Charles Percy (R-IL) to a group of ERA lobbyists who came to his office after the march, "Without a deadline, many of you wouldn't be here."

Norma Mendoza of Granite City, Ill., agreed. "It's only when you have the threat of something being taken away that you become concerned. I'm the kind of person who works better with a deadline, and I think a lot of people are the same way." That's the argument for a deadline—a new deadline that gives them sufficient time to garner three more states.

In support of more time, tens of thousands of women and men gathered in the searing heat of Washington for the event. Final newspaper estimates ranged from 40,000 to 100,000. Before the march NOW organizers had hoped 25,000 to 30,000 supporters would appear. NOW president Ellie Smeal had told a press conference two days before the march that it would only be a representational showing, not a mass, "peoples" demonstration. Smeal defended her low expectations, adding that with only two months for preparation a turnout of 25,000 would spell success.

The "processional," as Smeal termed it, included members of more than 325 organizations ranging from "Mormons for ERA" to the National Gay Task Force. A large contingent of "Individuals for ERA" were also represented in the well-orchestrated display. Park police, barely visible during the day, remarked that this was the most orderly demonstration they had ever witnessed.

## Compelling cause.

The surprising diversity of groups, and the sheer numbers who poured out to march illustrate that the struggle to ratify the ERA is now, more than ever, a compelling cause. Passage of the amendment, though its impact on social change is uncertain, is a test of strength of the women's movement as a whole.

Many marchers said they had never before come out for ERA or for any other feminist cause. But people from divergent political perspectives are beginning to recognize that their own movements can benefit from passage of the ERA.

Said John Haer, Pittsburgh member of the democratic socialist New American Movement: "We understand that the

feminist movement is not a socialist movement, but the goals of the feminist movement need to be a part of the goals of the socialist movement. You can't ignore it or you won't build an effective socialist movement."

Others came to the march, not to espouse a cause, but to pay homage to yet another chapter of feminists' arduous history.

"I'm glad I lived to see this day," 81-year-old Gertrude Davenport of New York City said. "I remember when women fought to vote in 1912. I wasn't old enough to march, but I watched the parades go by. The men were heckling the women and telling them to go home and wash their dishes."

Now, almost 70 years later, there were no hecklers. A significant number of men marched alongside distinguished feminists in support of women's rights. Several marchers held up signs proclaiming: "Men of quality are not threatened by women of equality."

The march climaxed in a rally on the Capitol steps. Energy ran high in the crowd as several prominent speakers drove home the message of the day.

"We've had it and we're not messing around anymore," said presidential assistant Midge Costanza to boisterous cheers and applause.

## Easy rhetoric.

Gloria Steinem, long-time feminist spokeswoman and *Ms.* magazine editor, then spoke in sobering, but more political terms.

"The lawful and peaceful stage of our

revolution may be over," Steinem said. "It's up to the legislators. We can become radical, if they force us. If they continue to interfere with the ratification of the ERA they will find every form of civil disobedience possible in every state in the country."

Such exhortations may roll easily off the tongue of a seasoned political veteran like Steinem, or Bella Abzug, or Barbara Mikulski, who also spoke to the gathering in powerful terms. And radical rhetoric can be casually applauded by housewives and steelworkers alike on a sunny Sunday afternoon in the park. But it is not so easy to transform that rhetoric into political action. This is the '70s, not the '60s, and Church Women United is not the SDS.

How many among the 100,000 who marched on the Capitol can be mobilized for the continuing campaign next month, or next year, as the fight drags on and the excitement of this "new beginning" is gone? Though they lay their bodies across legislators' doorsteps, how will they deliver those few crucial votes in southern states where the Equal Rights Amendment has met with stubborn resistance?

The turnout for NOW's march indicates that the potential political muscle is there, if only it can be harnessed. But the power of a political movement is not only a function of the crowd count. The stirring speeches and cheers on July 9 may be the beginning of such a movement. The popular basis seems to be there.

*Carolyn Projansky and Fern Schumer are writers in Washington.*

## Rally commemorates 1913 suffrage march

In 1913 eight thousand suffragettes marched here in Washington pressing Congress to support the right to vote. The women, wearing white gowns, were set upon by men lining the parade route. The men spit on them, heaped abuse and refuse on them, slapped them, assaulted them, burned them with cigar butts, and finally broke up the march as city police looked on smilingly.

Sixty-five years later over 100,000 marchers, mostly women, many clad in white, thronged through the nation's capital to urge Congress to extend the March 1979 deadline for ratification of the ERA. As demonstrators passed the National Archives Building, where the earlier march ended in disarray, a single bell rang solemnly to commemorate the earlier movement. But as the crowd surged by their mood was optimistic, not gloomy. Speakers at the rally on the west steps of the Capitol evoked the spirit of earlier suffragettes and spoke with determination.

Eleanor Smeal, president of NOW, told the impressive turnout, "You are

the message.... We're telling Congress that we want the ERA and we want it now!"

Margaret Costanza, aide to President Carter, said, "There is no time limit on human rights. There is no time limit on the full protection of the Constitution. There is no time limit on this administration's support for the ERA."

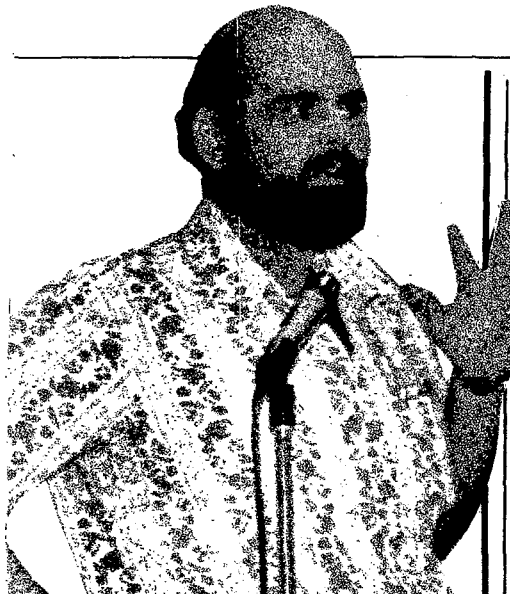
Unlike the march in 1913, opposition to women's rights was conspicuously absent. Phyllis Schlafly's claim that, "...the federal government is using our tax money to ram an amendment down people's throats that they don't want..." evaporated as the day wore on, the pro-ERA crowd swelled, and the anti-ERA prayer meeting at the Lincoln Memorial shriveled by comparison: only 200 people showed up.

Costanza chided Schlafly in *absentia*: "Our message to you, Phyllis Schlafly, is eat your heart out." And Betty Freidan exulted, "It's an incredible turnout. I don't see now anyone can say there wasn't support for the ERA with this crowd showing up in this weather."



# IN THE NATION

## LABOR



Pete Camarata

### Teamster dissidents go for top offices

By Dan Marshall

**P**ETE CAMARATA, DISSIDENT leader of the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), has embarked on a long uphill climb that may help to democratize the nation's largest union. On June 23 Camarata announced his candidacy for Teamster president and challenged incumbent Frank Fitzsimmons to a "debate on the issues" and a union-wide referendum vote.

Jack Vlahovik, former top officer of the Teamsters' largest Canadian local, simultaneously declared his candidacy for Secretary-Treasurer on the TDU slate.

Although Camarata and Vlahovik have very little chance to win—top Teamster officers are "elected" at international conventions whose delegates are overwhelmingly stacked with union business agents and local leaders who have sworn allegiance to the union hierarchy—their campaign may crystallize mounting resentment towards the union's highly-paid, crime-connected international officers.

A significant aspect of their efforts is the attempt by the TDU to obtain "equal access" to the *International Teamster*, the union's national publication, which currently is little more than a glossy public relations sheet that Fitzsimmons and other top-level officers use to espouse their accomplishments and attack intra-union critics.

"Under the Landrum-Griffin Act, a union is not supposed to favor incumbent candidates by providing them with union funds to win re-elections," says TDU attorney Craig Livingston. "But if union publications, which are paid for with union funds, are used to promote the candidacies of certain officers, then the rank and file have the right to present another viewpoint."

The union's Executive Board will consider the equal access question at a meeting later this month. If the TDU's request is rejected, as observers are certain it will be, TDU lawyers will file a suit in federal court to open up the publication to Camarata's campaign material. (To press their case, the TDU has retained the same law firm that represented Jimmy Hoffa in his unsuccessful attempt to lift legal restrictions on holding union office.)

Camarata launched his campaign three years before the next convention because "we are going to use that time to build a movement of the rank and file, and, increasingly, of local officers who are willing to speak out," he says.

Because delegates to that convention



### Unions take on southern furniture

*The union goal is the same as at J.P. Stevens in the textile industry—unionize one company and move on to the rest.*

Tony Soluri

By Bob McMahon

WEST JEFFERSON, N.C.

**A**BOUT 15 MINUTES AFTER the ballot counting began union organizer Ted Davis flashed a victory sign and a big smile. "This will make North Carolina furniture workers take notice," he said.

The United Furniture Workers had just won a representation election at Thomasville Furniture Industry's Phenix Chair plant, 267-223.

The union win in the June 23 election at Phenix Chair was an important first victory in a new campaign by the AFL-CIO to organize Southern labor. The United Furniture Workers, membership 26,000, joined by the 45,000-member Upholsterers International Union and the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department was making an effort to crack the 99 percent non-union North Carolina furniture industry.

According to United Furniture Workers president Carl Scarborough, North Carolina is the largest furniture-producing state in the country, with 88,000 of an estimated 300,000 workers in the industry. It is also the least unionized.

After a decision last year to launch a cooperative organizing drive in furniture, Thomasville Furniture Industries (TFI), a subsidiary of Armstrong Cork Co., was chosen in March as the initial target when strong support for the union became apparent at its Phenix chair operation.

"Our goal is the same as it is with J.P. Stevens," said Harold McIver, organizing director of the Industrial Union Department, when the campaign was announced. "Organize a major company in the furniture industry, negotiate a contract, and move on to other companies."

McIver would not say after the Phenix Chair vote where among TFI's 21 plants and 5,800 employees the union would next seek a vote. He did note that organizing was "going well" among 13 plants in the Thomasville area.

Tom Finch, TFI president released a statement after the Phenix victory, say-

ing, "If organizers from the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department pursue their announced intention to unionize other Thomasville Furniture Industries plants, we will strongly resist their efforts and we will use every legal means to do so."

The Furniture Workers had represented TFI employees once before in plants in the Thomasville area—from 1946 to 1952. After a three-month strike in 1952, which saw numerous arrests of strikers by police—together with bombardment of picket lines by scabs inside the plant—the union was broken.

Winning the first election was essential for the credibility of the organizing drive at TFI. A separate organizing effort, by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, had increased skepticism that the unions could make a dent in the North Carolina furniture industry.

In a year of effort the Carpenters filed for elections in 15 plants, only to withdraw the petition in 12 cases. In the three elections that were held, the union lost heavily.

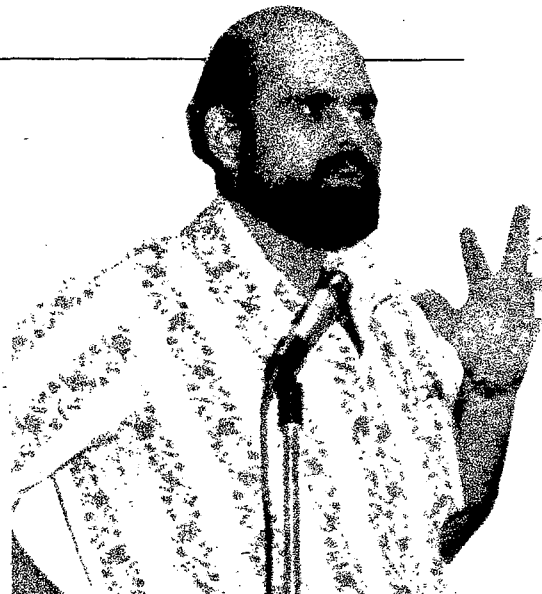
The AFL-CIO organizers found out about the strong interest in a union at Phenix Chair almost by accident. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) had been seeking to organize the Jefferson Apparel plant in the same county. Virginia Diamond, an ILGWU organizer, decided to try dropping off some union cards in the Phenix Chair plant.

The response, she says, "was overwhelming." She scheduled a meeting, hoping 30 workers might come; about 150 overflowed the room.

Wages were a key issue at Phenix Chair. The union discovered that workers at the Phenix plant in West Jefferson were being paid an average of \$3.53 an hour. The union estimates workers in the 13 Thomasville plants are paid \$3.83 an hour. (TFI claims its workers are paid "on the average" more than \$4 an hour. The average industrial wage in North Carolina is \$4.34 an hour, while the national average is \$5.71 an hour.)

Robert Holladay, a TFI vice president, conceded West Jefferson workers were

*Continued on page 20.*



In addition to Camarata's candidacy TDU hopes to run candidates for local offices around the country in order to build support.

will consist largely of officers elected over the next three years the TDU also intends to field candidates around the country in the hopes of cohering an opposition bloc that will back Camarata. (Teamster dissidents in TDU and PROD, another rank and file reform group, have met some success at winning leadership positions on the local level. In Wisconsin Local 30, for example, TDU-backed candidates swept an election earlier this year.)

To counter consistently negative publicity and this growing rank and file movement, the Teamster hierarchy has initiated a new "open communications" policy towards the press. In June the international added two public relations men to its Washington staff. On the same day as Camarata's announcement and a 150-person picket line in front of the international headquarters Fitzsimmons held his first press conference in almost three years.

Calling the union "the greatest organization God has ever created," Fitzsimmons defended the Teamsters from widely-publicized charges of corruption, nepotism, use of union dues for personal purposes and connections with organized crime figures. The government has investigated the union "from top to bottom, from hell to high water," Fitzsimmons said. If there is any evidence of wrongdoing, he challenged, let the Justice Department "go ahead and prosecute."

The next major test of Fitzsimmons' leadership will be the renegotiation of the National Master Freight Agreement, which covers over 450,000 over-the-road drivers. As negotiations on the contract, which expires on April 1, 1979, commence in several months, Fitzsimmons will come under a variety of conflicting pressures that will likely weaken his hold on the union's top office.

President Carter is demanding that trucking union/industry bargainers restrain wage increases in accord with the administration's voluntary anti-inflation program. (At his press conference, Fitzsimmons backed down from an earlier statement, quoted by the *New York Times*, that he would not go to the bargaining table for "anything less" than the 37 percent wage/benefit increase won by the United Mine Workers. He declined to specify the union's opening wage demands.)

Teamster members, meanwhile, are pushing for wage gains high enough to compensate for inflation and for measures to halt deteriorating working conditions. If Fitzsimmons fails to deliver it will strengthen the hands of other top-level officers who are searching for leverage to push him out of office. (ITT, May 17.) ■



## TAX REVOLT

Mass.' answer  
to Proposition 13

By Peter Drier

REVERE, MASS.

**P**ROPOSITION 13 FEVER" HAS spread from California to Massachusetts and this state's politicians have caught the germ. Citizens in "Taxachusetts" pay the highest property taxes of any state in the country except Alaska, and politicians are jumping on the bandwagon, scrambling to attach their names to various tax proposals to roll back local property taxes and put a limit on state government spending. More than 200 years after the Boston Tea Party, they seem prepared to throw public services overboard to protest government spending and high taxes.

In cities and towns across the state taxpayers are forming (or expanding) local groups to demand lower taxes. In suburban Medford, for example, the Alliance of Concerned Taxpayers pressured the city council to cut \$280,000 from the city's operating budget. The casualties included a dental clinic, the town's branch libraries and some snow-removal facilities.

At the state level the situation is even more complicated because 1978 is an election year. In addition, the number of seats in the state House of Representatives is being cut from 240 to 160, so incumbents are facing each other in heated campaigns.

Conservative Republican Edward F. King, founder of Citizens for Limited Taxation (CLT), is running for governor on a one-issue platform—cut state taxes. He has proposed a constitutional amendment—which will go before the voters in 1980 if approved in the state legislature next year—that would limit state spending by tying the state budget to growth in the income of Massachusetts taxpayers and prohibiting further programs mandated by the state but paid for by the cities out of property taxes.

Although King's amendment would

not touch existing state-mandated programs (special education, school breakfast programs, compulsory binding arbitration for police and firefighters), Barbara Anderson of CLT says "We expect to go after them sooner or later."

Some observers give King a good chance to unseat Gov. Michael Dukakis, a moderate Democrat.

**Proposition 2½.**

"California spoke for the country," says state Representative Roy Switzler, a Republican from suburban Wellesley, who introduced his own bill, Proposition 2½ only days after the Jarvis-Gann amendment passed in California.

His proposal, which limits property taxes to 2.5 percent of the property's market value, would have a devastating effect on Massachusetts' cities, which have no sales or income tax and rely heavily on the property tax. Boston, for example, with a current 8 percent tax rate, would lose about \$300 million of the \$441 million it raises from property taxes, says Ray Torto, tax adviser to Boston Mayor Kevin White.

Conservatives like Switzler and King argue that there is already too much "fat" in government. They point to the usual conservative enemies—expanding welfare rolls, high public employee salaries, unnecessary bureaucracy and "frills" in school programs. "We've got to shut the door on government spending sometime," Switzler explains, "and now's the time."

To counter the conservatives' efforts to cut overall spending (and thus public services and jobs), Massachusetts Fair Share, a statewide citizens' action group, is backing several proposals to shift the tax burden away from low and moderate-income families and onto business and the more affluent.

Almost a year ago, long before *Time* magazine put Howard Jarvis on its cover, Fair Share exposed the fact that many of Boston's biggest businesses and landlords



*Fair Share, after being rebuffed by the governor decided to take their case to his "town meeting" June 26 in Revere. More than 1,000 showed up.*

had not paid their property taxes. Fair Share's "Dirty Dozen Plus Two" campaign forced the city to collect about \$11 million in delinquent tax bills. As a result, Fair Share netted a large following of frustrated taxpayers.

This year, Fair Share, along with the mayors of the state's largest cities, is backing a "classification" initiative on next November's ballot that would lock into law the present formula that assesses residential property at a lower rate than commercial or industrial property.

The business community vigorously opposes classification for obvious reasons; it favors, instead, a plan to assess all property at the same 100 percent rate.

**Circuit breaker tax.**

Fair Share's biggest effort, however, is its "circuit-breaker" bill to provide immediate cash rebates to taxpayers accord-

Mass. Fair Share has won in the state legislature, now it must overcome the determined opposition of the governor.

ing to income. Tenants and homeowners with family incomes under \$30,000 who pay more than 8 percent of their income in property taxes would receive a rebate up to \$500.

Fair Share estimates that a typical family of four, with an income of \$15,000 and a property tax bill of \$1,200 would get a \$243 rebate. According to its calculations, more than three-quarters of all rebates would go to those households with incomes under \$13,000.

Rebates for renters would be calculated by assuming that one-fourth of their rent goes for property taxes.

The money would come from this year's \$200 million state surplus and thus not cut into existing programs.

After several months of intensive lobbying Fair Share's bill passed in both houses of the state legislature and is now in the joint Ways and Means committees. Gov. Dukakis, however, has said he'll veto it when it reaches his desk.

Dukakis wants the surplus to go directly to the towns and cities to use as they please. But Fair Share's members, with a strong distrust of politicians, want the money directly in taxpayers' pockets.

After Dukakis refused to meet with Fair Share to discuss it, the organization decided to turn the governor's June 26 "town meeting" in Revere into a direct confrontation on the rebate bill.

Despite a slight drizzle and the Red Sox-Yankee game on Monday night TV, Fair Share mobilized about 1,000 members from across the state. Fair Share members packed the crowded elementary school meeting room to its capacity (squeezing out local Reverites) while another 600 members rallied outside, carrying picket signs ("Sign our bill or get off the hill," "Mike: Give us our rebates," "Direct tax relief now") and singing songs written for the occasion.

It was the classic showdown. The news media (recently stricken with tax revolt

*Continued on page 6.*



*Illinois Public Action members rally in Springfield in support of their circuit breaker tax reform bill.*

Illinois tax reform  
threatened

Political infighting threatens Public Action bill to bring down homeowners' taxes.

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

**B**ARBARA SCHALK WAS ANGRY as she stood in front of Illinois Gov. James Thompson's \$110,000 townhouse in the fashionable Lincoln Park neighborhood of Chicago. In 1976, with an income of \$50,000 a year, Thompson had paid \$596.94 in property taxes on the house—slightly more than 1 percent of his income. Last year Schalk, a single mother of three making \$7,280 as a clerk in a currency exchange, paid \$540.95 on a modest stuccoed bungalow—or 7.4 percent of her income.

"It's easy to see why the governor doesn't think there is a problem with property taxes in Illinois," Schalk, president of a community organization affiliated with the Illinois Public Action Council, told reporters. "But just because

Thompson hasn't been paying his fair share in property taxes doesn't mean that the rest of us haven't."

Although Thompson's taxes have since gone up dramatically, Public Action arranged the disclosure to embarrass the politically ambitious Thompson into signing the group's proposed "circuit breaker" property tax relief bill. Republican Thompson has vowed to veto the bill, which passed the Democratic-controlled legislature earlier this summer.

Since Thompson's Democratic opponent in the fall election, state Controller Michael Bakalis, picked up the Public Action measure as one of his major planks, Thompson has attacked it vigorously, making the bill one of the more noticeable campaign issues.

The "circuit breaker" bill became the focus of Public Action's tax campaign earlier this year, even though it was not even mentioned in their many-part program last fall. Although the statewide federation of community organizations did not expect the proposal to have a strong chance in the legislature this year and planned to use the issue for organizing, their proposal was the surprise beneficiary of a new skittishness among politicians about taxes, spurred by the California victory of Proposition 13, and of the failure of other proposals to stir anyone's enthusiasm.

*Continued on page 20.*



## CIVIL LIBERTIES

# The Nazis rally in Marquette Park

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

**P**ROTECTED BY NEARLY 1,400 police, 22 members of the National Socialist Party of America — swastika-bearing Nazis—held a brief rally in Marquette Park, near their southwest Chicago headquarters July 10. Two days earlier the Supreme Court had refused the Chicago Park District's request to stop the rally, thus ending over a year of litigation that brought the tiny hate group unprecedented attention.

A crowd of 2,000 people gathered, but few could hear Nazi leader Frank Collin's diatribe against blacks and Jews. Most of the people appeared to be simply curious. Several hundred young whites, most of them normally rowdy types, and a sizeable number of older people were clearly supportive of the Nazi's racist views. Some fought with a small band of Jewish protesters, beat a lone black man who wandered into the park, and jeered racist epithets. Police quickly stopped most of the fights, arresting 72 people.

The largest mass of counter-demonstrators—estimated at 2,000 by newspapers but actually smaller—was blocked by police from marching to the park or even into the four-block wide integrated strip of homes between two adjacent neighborhoods that are solidly black or white. Leaders of the march were distressed that police—citing the demonstrators' lack of a permit and "the public good and the public order"—had "betrayed" earlier promises about where they could march.

The counterdemonstrators ranged from the Jewish Defense League and local black groups to members of a white evangelist church and a wide variety of small left groups, several of which engaged in loud,

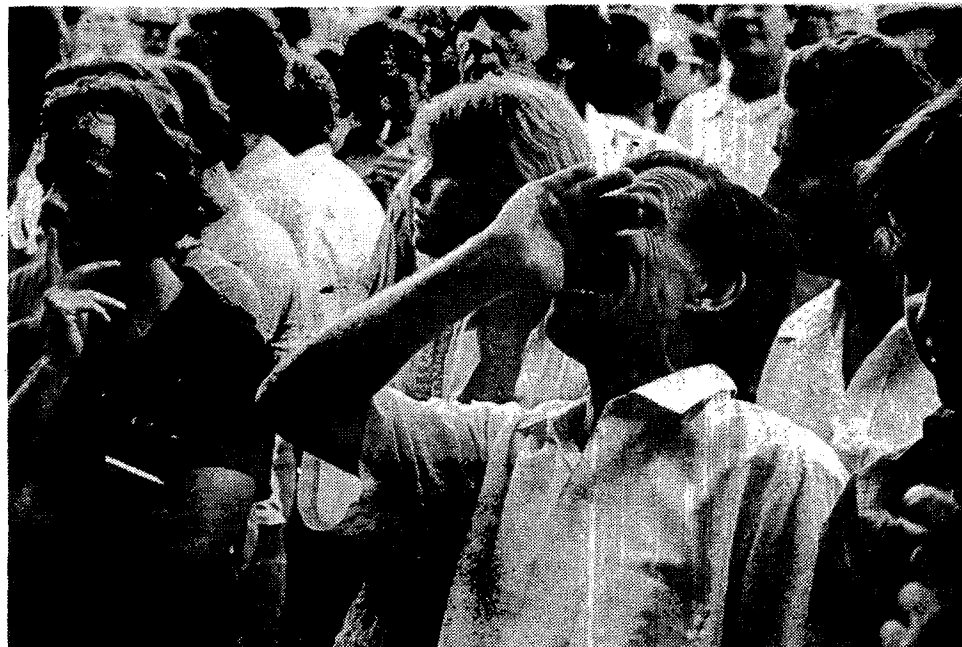
**Focusing on the Nazis may lead people to ignore greater dangers.**

blustering verbal confrontations with the police. The leading groups in the march appeared to be the ad hoc Coalition Against Nazism and the Chicago Equal Rights Council.

Although several of the leaders pledged to return later and march into Marquette Park against the Nazis, the protest had already lost support of big-name politicians and trade union leaders who had earlier promised to support an anti-Nazi rally in Skokie, Ill.

The Chicago Park District plans to fight to the Supreme Court if necessary federal judge George Leighton's ruling that protesting groups cannot be required to provide insurance for property damage and liability as a condition for receiving a rally permit in the parks. The Park District provoked the long legal battle, the threat of a march in the heavily Jewish suburb of Skokie and the wide publicity for the Nazis when it attempted to stop Nazi rallies by invoking the old insurance regulation.

Collin says that he'll rally in other parks around the city and attempt to march into the neighboring black community of West Englewood this fall if he finally wins his court battle. Although the American Civil Liberties Union, which has handled Collin's case, thinks that there may be more legal skirmishing, it seems optimistic that the Park District's insurance requirement will not be upheld. And probably nobody would be happier at seeing the case end than members and



Marquette Park area residents shouting insults at Jewish anti-Nazi demonstrators (top). Shirtless man joins others to help black youth. Some area residents then helped the black youth out of the park, while others kicked and punched them (directly above).

staff of the ACLU.

Meanwhile, opponents of the Nazis are scrambling about trying to find the best way of dealing with the tiny but obnoxious group. There are numerous splits: some want to ban the Nazis, others defend their right to speak but want to confront them politically. A few groups support direct violence against the Nazis. Others, including a coalition from the Marquette Park neighborhood that took out a half-

page newspaper ad attacking the Nazis, want people to ignore them as an insignificant band of kooks.

There's also the danger, some warn, that focusing on the Nazis may lead many people to ignore the more substantial, home-grown, all-American rightwing forces growing in the major institutions of the society, especially the Republican party and the anti-communist evangelical movement.

## Massachusetts tax reform

Continued from page 5.

fever itself) watched as an exasperated Dukakis tried to field Fair Share's well-researched questions. The persistent members wouldn't let him off the hook. Each time the governor tried to explain his opposition to the circuit-breaker, the demonstrators—both those inside and those outside listening through the loudspeakers—shouted him down.

Finally, when Dukakis would not agree to set a specific date to meet with the group, Fair Share's Carolyn Lucas said, "OK. All those who want direct property tax relief may leave." More than 300 of the 400 people in the room got up and walked out.

These were not 1960s college students confronting Defense Secretary Robert McNamara about Vietnam, but Fair Share's constituency of working class citizens—black, but mostly white; young and middle-aged, but disproportionately seniors; tenants and homeowners; speaking Portuguese, Greek, Italian and English—frustrated over spiralling tax bills.

Hardly a radical proposal—17 states already have circuit-breakers for the elderly and four states have no-age-limit rebate schemes—the Fair Share is an attempt to head off any right-wing proposal to slash revenues and cut back public services before they gather momentum.

### Relief, not reform.

But, Fair Share's Lucas explains, the rebate and classification measures provide "only tax relief, not tax reform." Over the long term, she says, "we have to take a hard look at our reliance on the property tax itself."

Boston has the highest property tax among the nation's large cities. It relies on the property tax for 65 percent of its

revenues, according to mayoral adviser Jay Torto. Most of the other 35 percent comes from state and federal aid.

Except for Washington, D.C., Boston has more tax-exempt land—state, local and federal government buildings, colleges and universities, hospitals, and others—than any other large city.

State law prohibits Massachusetts cities from having an income tax. A city sales tax, like New York's, would be unworkable here; Massachusetts cities and suburbs are so close together geographically that if one city adopted the sales tax, consumers would vote with their feet and shop in the next town.

Because property taxes are the most regressive, weighing heaviest on those who can least afford it, some reformers favor broadening the state sales and income taxes and channeling more state aid to cities and towns to relieve their reliance on the property tax. Torto, for instance, suggests making the state sales tax more progressive by taxing goods and services (legal fees, clothing, advertising) used disproportionately by the affluent as well as changing the state income tax from a flat-rate to a graduated tax.

### Voters against any tax.

Given the current mood of the electorate, however, few politicians are willing to gamble their careers on proposals that appear to raise taxes. This is also the dilemma facing progressive citizens' groups such as Fair Share. Voters reject almost any new tax proposals except those that bring immediate tax-cut results.

As an organizing issue, therefore, the rebate scheme has its strengths. "We're the angry taxpayers, dammit, and we want relief now," says Fair Share's Lucas, a registered nurse and mother of two from

Boston's Hyde Park neighborhood. If the bill passes, Fair Share can claim it put money directly in taxpayers' pockets.

But while rebates and classification schemes may divert a right-wing revolt, they do little to counter the general "anti-government" mood that views all politicians as corrupt and all government programs as inevitably inefficient and wasteful.

Most of Fair Share's rank-and-file members—though not its active leaders—would probably vote for Proposition 2½ if given the opportunity. Fortunately for Fair Share, they won't have the chance for some time. If, as expected, Massachusetts' version of Jarvis-Gann fails to pass in this session of the legislature, it can't be put before the voters directly until 1980, the same year as King's budget limitation amendment.

"The conservatives want to dismantle the public sector, the services that make cities livable for the middle class and less desperate for the poor," explains Brandeis University economist Elliot Sclar. "Progressives shouldn't buy into that anti-government rhetoric."

In theory, at least, Fair Share and groups like it agree. They try to focus their issues on corporate rip-offs and government favoritism for the rich. "We don't want to pit middle class people against poor people," says a Fair Share staff person. "We want to bring them together."

But with public sentiment as much against "big government" as it is against "big business," that is a difficult tight-rope to walk.

Peter Dreier teaches sociology at Tufts University.

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## CITIES

# Black community fights crime in K.C.

Despite recognition of the social roots of crime, community groups join for action.

By Ellen Deirdre Murphy

KANSAS CITY, MO.

**T**HE MURDERS OF TEN YOUNG women here last year have brought this city's black community and police department together in a joint effort to fight crime.

Hope, unity and strength are words not often used to describe the mood in American cities, particularly in minority communities where social and economic inequity is most clearly seen. Yet, in Kansas City, whose slogan "heart of America" refers to its location, not to compassionate social attitudes, hope, unity and strength are said proudly by a community determined to break the circle of black-on-black crime.

This determination grew out of adversity. Late last November 300 angry and embittered blacks met with police representatives. Investigations into the deaths of the young women, nine of whom were black, remained open, and many in the community charged that the department wasn't working as hard as it could to close them.

"There was anger, fear and frustration in our community," says Alvin Brooks, a city official who chaired the meeting. "There were fears of a confrontation with police, especially in places where young people gather."

Police, on the other hand, claimed they had run out of leads to investigate, and that people with information about the murders weren't coming forward to help the department.

That a relationship characterized by suspicion and hostility should exist between blacks and police is hardly surprising. Kansas City's population of slightly more than a half million is about 23 percent black. Blacks are concentrated in about one-tenth of the city's area, on the East Side, which even Mayor Charles Wheeler describes as "economically depressed."

The April unemployment rate for Kansas City as a whole dropped to 4 percent, a four-year low, while non-white unemployment, officially calculated at 7.5 percent, is estimated by an Urban League official to be closer to 28 or 30 percent. Among black youth, the Missouri Division of Employment Security quotes a figure of 27.1 percent unemployed; black leaders say it's actually 48 percent.

In Kansas City only 11 percent of the 1,207 member officer force is non-white, yet 67 percent of the city's homicide victims last year were black, as were more than 60 percent of those arrested for serious crimes.

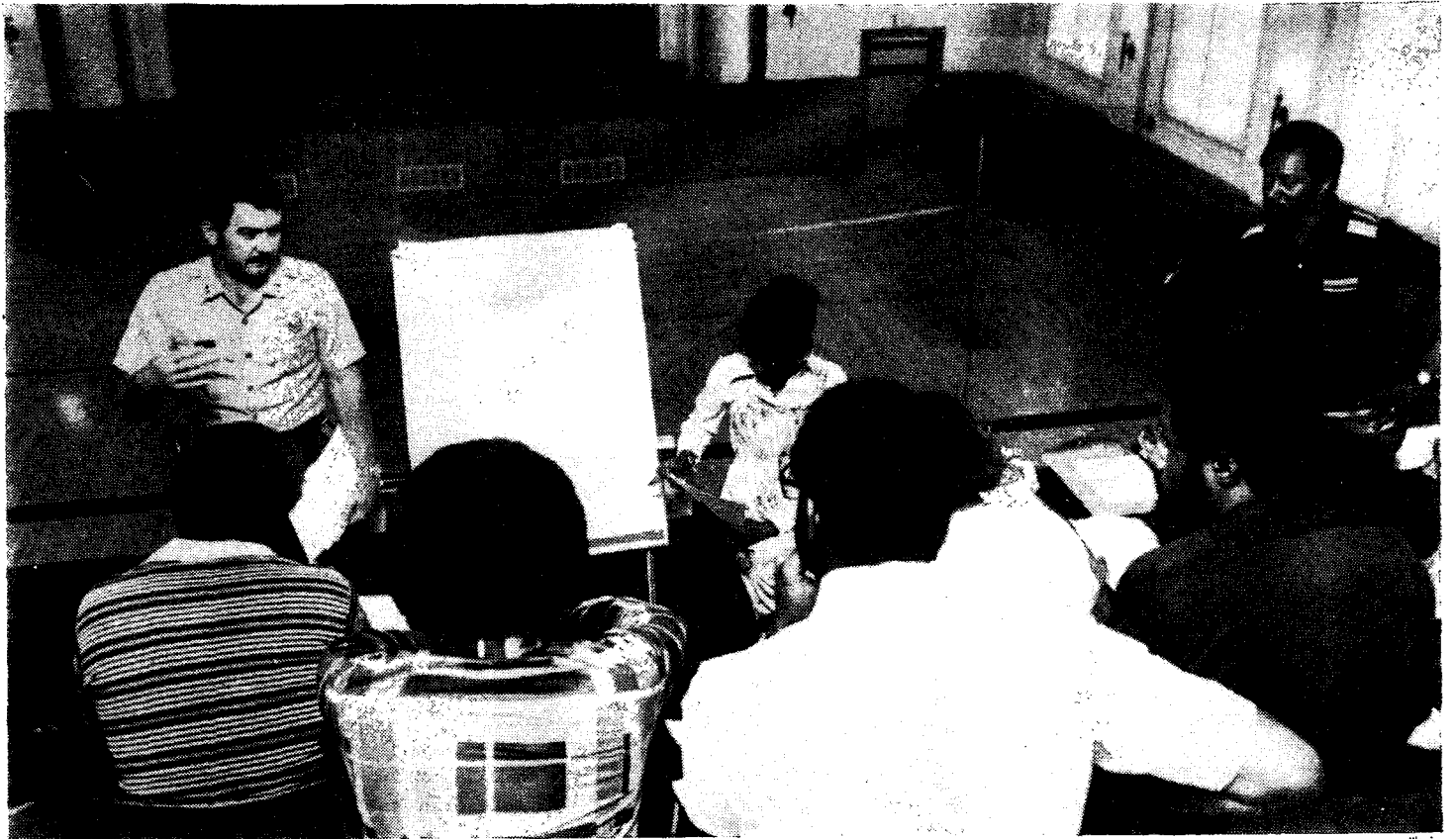
## The community acts.

The implications of those statistics were on the minds of a group of 80 persons who met early last December to follow up the first community meeting. They formed the Ad Hoc Group of Community Leaders and Representatives on Violent Crime in the Black Community, or Ad Hoc.

Ad Hoc's composition is significant, according to Sammie Edwards, a lawyer who heads a city youth program. "We have always been a fractured community," she explains. "We have had cliques—NAACPers, PUSHers, Urban Leaguers and SCLCers. But we're all working together with Ad Hoc."

The group has no formal leadership, preferring to cooperate in a way that, according to one member, "defeats most sociologists' arguments about structure."

Bernard Powell, director of a neighbor-



Ad Hoc members and representatives of the Kansas City Police Department at a planning meeting.

hood improvement project, summed up Ad Hoc's program by saying "Crime cannot exist when a community is totally against crime." Close to 5,000 persons have signed a community code of conduct, pledging not to steal, shoplift or buy stolen goods.

The code also requires that information about criminal activity be reported, either to the police or anonymously to Ad Hoc on the 24-hour Community Anti-Crime line set up through the Kansas City Council on Crime Prevention. The Council, established in 1974 as the sole crime prevention agency in the black community, also administers Ad Hoc's Community Reward Fund, which makes payments to persons whose information leads to arrests and convictions.

Kansas City is one of three cities in the country working with Operation PUSH's Excell Program, which is oriented to developing student self-respect and motivation. According to Dr. Will McCarther, who heads the Excell Program at all-black Central High School, Excell's stress on strong parent-child relationships and a structured school environment is in itself crime preventive. Excell's self-reliance theme repeats Ad Hoc's pledge to "do some housekeeping in our community."

## Support for Ad Hoc.

Fighting crime from the pulpit is the work of another of Ad Hoc's six task forces. A report written by several ministers notes that black churches' "long history of involvement in, and commitment to, the movement for human rights and community development." Special collections have been taken at services to raise money for the hotline and Community Reward Fund.

A radio station and a newspaper that serve the black community are also involved in the crime prevention program. Weekly articles in the Kansas City *Call* follow Ad Hoc's progress while KPRS/KPRT, whose audience is 95 percent black, plans hourly "Crime Breaks" to broadcast police reports of crimes.

The station moved its operation to a community center one weekend in May for a two-day live marathon broadcast, with police, city officials, community workers, university professors and religious leaders joining ex-offenders and former prostitutes to discuss crime and how to prevent it. Police credit the broadcast for a significant reduction in crime on the East Side that weekend; in addition, almost \$15,000 was raised for Ad Hoc's work through pledges and a dance marathon.

Julia Hill, president of Kansas City's NAACP chapter, praises Ad Hoc's efforts, yet criticizes the program for being superficial and one-sided. "There

are many reasons for crime," she says. "We receive inferior education. We are forced into rat-infested apartments. When people are treated like animals, they will act like animals. Poor people in the inner city can't stop crime by themselves."

"There is no one in Ad Hoc who doesn't recognize the roots of crime," counters Alvin Brooks. "The total social, economic and political picture causes our community to fall into despair and hopelessness." The efforts of civil rights organizations working for systemic change and Ad Hoc compliment each other, Brooks explains. "No one group can do it alone. Ad Hoc wants to effect some day-to-day change to give us hope."

Community leaders are cautious in eval-

uating Ad Hoc's success in its short existence, preferring instead to stress its sustained, unifying effect. Violent death in the black community, the catalyst for Ad Hoc's formation, has taken a grim, new form. There has been a series of double and triple murders in recent months, which many believe are drug-related. Yet, community leaders are confident not only that they can cut down on crime, but also that their work will serve as a model for other communities, even those not bound by what Sammie Edwards calls the "common hurt" of racial oppression.

Ellen Deirdre Murphy is IN THESE TIMES' business and advertising manager. She formerly worked for the Missouri Commission on Human Rights.

## Change may be coming to Kansas City police

How soon should Kansas City's black community look for changes in the Police Department? "Yesterday!" says Paul Smith, an Ad Hoc member, emphatically.

"Demands have been made of the community and of the Police Department," he continues, recalling a meeting last January at which Ad Hoc presented nine recommendations for changes in the department, along with a 21-point outline of the community's crime-fighting plan. "And we are working on ours."

The black community's recommendations focus on recruitment of minority officers, increased human relations and crime prevention training in the department, specific budgetary allocations for anti-crime projects, and the need for increased cooperation.

Change may come as a result of an investigation into the department's hiring and promotion practices and relationship with the black community conducted last winter by the Office of Civil Rights Compliance of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. The agency's report is due some time this month.

Whether change takes place without federal prodding will depend largely on Norman Caron, a 23-year veteran of the Kansas City police force who has held the job of police chief since February.

Caron, who says he welcomes pressure from the community ("It keeps you honest"), won't set any objectives he doesn't think his department can meet. "I was naive in the '60s, talking about brotherly love and all that. That's a dream. It may come, but not in our life-

time." His goals echo the eloquence of many in the black community when they describe what they want from the Police Department—"courtesy," "Dignity," "fairness," "respect."

But for officers administering "curb-side justice"—the beatings, abusive language, intimidation and harassment that fuel community outrage—Caron has a blunter message. "I will not tolerate that kind of bullshit."

Caron has relied on meetings with rank-and-file officers in police substations to get his directive across. He has promised to weed out abusive officers by reviewing records of citizen complaints against members of the department.

Rank-and-file response to Ad Hoc has been mixed. According to one officer, some chose to blame communists or militants for the group's formation. Others, he said, assumed "black folks are just emotional. After three or four days, they'll be quiet."

By persisting, he explained, the group has disproved the department's view that it had no support in the inner city.

While one woman describes a "warm" relationship that has developed between the chief and Ad Hoc, another will say only that she is "hearing the right sounds."

Smith is more concerned with results than promises. "If movement [on the part of police] is perceived, we will respond in accordance. But if there is no manifestation of change, we will continue to prod. We will not wait one year for action."



# IN THE WORLD

## MIDDLE EAST

# Israel ignores Sadat's concessions

By Gidion Eshet

JERUSALEM

**I**N SPITE OF SEVERAL IMPORTANT concessions, Israel rejected as "Completely unacceptable" Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's peace plan. This will lead, if one reads the Egyptian strategy correctly, to an American initiative, starting with a U.S. peace plan and ending with that country exerting the necessary pressure to make the plan into a territorial reality.

Israel rejected the proposal because it assumed that a just and lasting peace necessitates a just solution to the Palestinian problem on the basis of the rights of the Palestinian people and the security needs of all the parties. The Israeli government interprets this as a contradiction. There is no way the security needs of Israel can be met together with the rights of the Palestinian people.

The Israeli government ignored the proposal's significance. It was the first time an Arab leader has put Palestinian rights and Israel's security at the same level. It is also the first time that an Arab leader has so much as hinted that even if a Palestinian state is established, Israel could keep some form of military presence in that state.

### PLO and Syria excluded.

Sadat proposed a transition period of up to five years. When this period ends, the Palestinian people could determine their own future. The Israelis agreed that here Sadat made two concessions to Israel. He did not mention the PLO or a Palestinian state and agreed to a transition period as proposed by Israel. But by not specifying what is to happen after that period, he did not exclude a Palestinian state.

When Sadat called for the Cairo conference after his visit to Jerusalem, he invited both Syria and the PLO to attend. Both were excluded from the proposed talks.

Negotiations were to be held between Egypt, Jordan, Israel and representatives of the Palestinian people in order to reach an agreement on the following issues:

- Details of the government during the transition period,
- A timetable for Israeli withdrawal,
- Security arrangements during and after that period,
- Ways to implement the UN resolutions concerning the Palestinian refugees,
- Any other subjects agreed to by the parties concerned.

For Israel the most difficult item on this agenda was the Palestinian refugees. The UN has resolved that the refugees should either be granted the right to return to their homes or should be compensated. Israel opposes either alternative. It argues that this issue should be considered together with the issue of Jewish people who once lived in Arab countries. Sadat knew this argument and left the door open for its inclusion with the "any other subject" clause.

### Complete withdrawal.

Sadat made other important concessions. He did not demand immediate Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, but was willing to discuss a timetable. He talked about security arrangements during and, more important, after the transition period. This was more than a hint that Israeli, American or international forces could be permanently stationed in the territories. But the most difficult item for Israel to swallow is complete withdrawal from the West Bank, including Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip and including Israeli settlements established in the territories.

Neither the present coalition nor the Labor opposition agrees to this. Only the Communist Party and the small socialist-Zionist party Sheli support this.

The withdrawal clause should, however, be considered along with other clauses that leave the option of Israeli military presence in the occupied territories open, but most Israelis disregard this loophole.

According to the proposal, the Israeli

future. Israel ridiculed this clause. Are Egypt and Jordan to guarantee the security of Israel? it was asked. But it seemed that Sadat was hinting at something totally different.

The promised guarantees concerned the West Bank and Gaza. Egypt and Jordan would supervise the future regimes of these areas in order to minimize the possibility of a pro-Soviet regime from

## Sadat excluded the PLO and Syria and left the way open for a permanent Israeli military presence on the West Bank.

government in the territories would be abolished at the beginning of the transition period. Jordan would take charge of the West Bank and Egypt of the Gaza Strip. Each power would govern together with a freely elected body of the Palestinian people. The UN would supervise the Israeli withdrawal.

The Israeli government tends to ignore two major issues here. First, Israel was not asked to withdraw its forces immediately but only to abolish the military government.

Second, instead of stipulating that the PLO was the legitimate representative of the Palestinians, it was said that elections are to be held. This left the option open for pro-Jordanian and pro-Egyptian elements respectively to win the elections.

Egypt and Jordan would give guarantees that the security arrangements to be agreed upon will be honored also in the

ruining the *Pax Americana* envisioned by Sadat.

### Encouraged by Mondale.

But the Egyptian proposal was not judged on its merits. Israel was still unwilling to give up its hold over the occupied territories and especially over its settlements in the West Bank.

Knowing this, why did Sadat bother? Why publicize a plan surely to be rejected by Israel? And why agree to the London meeting? The Egyptian president is trying to push the U.S. into the corner. When, after mid-July's London meeting, it will be evident that a stalemate has been reached, the U.S. will face a dilemma: either to issue its own plan and pressure the Israelis to accept it or to endanger the pro-American Sadat regime.

Could the U.S. tolerate a leftward change in Egypt as advocated by the ex-

Egyptian chief of staff General Shazli? Could the U.S. afford such a development in light of what has lately happened in Afghanistan and South Yemen? Sadat gambles on a negative answer to these questions.

He has been encouraged to hold this view by Vice President Walter Mondale's speech in Jerusalem. Mondale made two things clear: first, that the U.S. will initiate its own plans once Israel and Egypt reach a stalemate; second, that the U.S. sees a solution to the West Bank and Gaza similar to that proposed in Sinai—Israeli withdrawal and U.S. guarantees and supervision. This is not far from what Sadat has proposed himself.

It is probably unwise to view the Syrian operation in Lebanon only in light of these prospects. There are sufficient local developments in Lebanon, from the Syrian standpoint, to "justify" its attack against the Christian rightists. But it is clear that these considerations go hand in hand with Syria's opposition to Sadat's moves. It is no coincidence that over the weekend there were voices in Israel calling on Premier Begin to delay the London talks with Egypt as long as the Syrians continue shelling east Beirut. If Syria can get Israel to intervene in Lebanon and/or delay the London talks, the U.S. will be delayed in forcing an agreement between Israel and Egypt.

There are elements in Israel who are happy to play into the Syrian hand. The Israeli air force already made an appearance over Beirut. Heating the border between Israel and Syria could serve both these countries at this stage of the game.

*Gidion Eshet is an Israeli journalist who reports regularly on Israeli politics for IN THESE TIMES.*

# Stalled peace drive and corruption undermine Sadat's support at home

By T.D. Allman

CAIRO, EGYPT

**P**RESIDENT ANWAR SADAT'S experiment with democracy, originally intended to end Nasser-style dictatorship in Egypt forever, has become the latest casualty of the failure to find peace in the Mideast.

By suppressing opposition parties and closing newspapers that criticize his government, Sadat has snuffed out the Arab world's only significant evolution toward human rights. More important for the outside world, Sadat's crackdown on dissenters amounts to an indirect admission that—eight months after his dramatic visit to Israel—peace is not at hand.

"It is easy for a leader to tolerate opposition when he is a national hero," a Western diplomat in Cairo recently noted. "Last November, Sadat's attempt to make peace with the Israelis was so popular that letting a few left-wing intellectuals and Moslem fundamentalists criticize what he had done only added to his popularity."

"Today the honeymoon is over. Egyptian politicians are asking why the Israelis haven't given anything in return. The average Egyptian knows friendship with the Americans hasn't turned the Egyptian economy around."

### Democracy was working.

Sadat's critics—now harassed by government investigators and hemmed in by

new regulations—contend the problem wasn't that democracy failed in Egypt, but that it was working too well. Certainly, in the months before the president pushed through a national plebiscite banning all real opposition, critics on both the right and left of Egyptian politics were beginning to raise issues for which Sadat had fewer and fewer answers.

Among the most important criticisms heard publicly before the crackdown and still discussed in private are:

•Egyptians to the left of Sadat—ranging from pan-Arab Nasserists to pro-Soviet Communists—contend that by going to Jerusalem and by developing a "special relationship" with Jimmy Carter, Sadat has betrayed Egypt's real friends, both in the Arab world and elsewhere, and abandoned the ideals of social revolution that guided Egypt in the past.

Critics on the right—ranging from conservative nationalists to members of the fanatical Moslem Brotherhood—charge that Sadat has betrayed the Arab and Islamic cause with his peace initiative.

Before the president closed their newspapers and banned their most important leaders from political life, both sets of critics were noting that the "peace process," whatever its intentions, had failed either to win Israeli concessions or to produce effective American pressure on Israel's hard-line prime minister, Menachem Begin.

•The left was pointing out that Sadat's attempt to encourage free enterprise was failing to revive the troubled economy and only widening the gap between rich

and poor. The right was complaining that Sadat's prophecies of affluence were not coming true. While disagreeing on solutions, right and left agreed that Sadat had failed to solve Egypt's domestic problems.

•The ethic of austerity is very strong in the Arab world. Both Arab Marxists and Arabs who live by the Koran share a distaste for vulgar displays of wealth and an aversion for regimes that place conspicuous consumption above self-sacrifice. The obvious relish of Sadat, his family and his closest friends for luxury provided the most popular target for criticism before dissent was silenced.

"The attacks on corruption keep edging closer and closer to the president," a long-time American resident of Cairo said recently. "Everyone knows that the president's wife is touched by these rumors, that Sadat's in-laws are making money hand over fist. And now the talk in the bazaars is being printed in the newspapers. How will Sadat react?"

A few days later the president, in a speech to the Peoples' Assembly, the country's parliament, announced the new repressive measures.

### "Down with Sadat."

If Sadat silenced his critics in part because he had no convincing answers to their criticisms, he seems also to have acted because the opposition was growing increasingly effective.

The right-of-center New Wafd Party had established its own newspaper and

*Continued next page.*





Anwar Sadat whispers to Israeli opposition leader Shimon Peres at conclusion of their July 9 talks in Vienna.

was attracting a major following among Egypt's urban middle class and land-owning peasants. It planned to contest Sadat's candidates in parliamentary elections, and, most political observers here agree, New Wafd candidates would have done well. One of the chief provisions of Sadat's crackdown was to ban the top Wafd leadership from political life on grounds that they had collaborated with the government of King Farouk before it was overthrown in 1952. The New Wafd Party, as a result, has disbanded itself rather than "continue the charade of democracy," as one Wafd supporter recently put it.

On the left, the Progressive Nationalist Party was also "turning into a real political party," one U.S. official in Cairo said. So effective were its criticisms that the minister of information, Abdul Moniem El Sawy, was suing the party newspaper for libel in an attempt to curtail its criticisms. Meanwhile prominent Egypt-

tian journalists and academics were publishing critiques of the government. And, unlike in the past, they signed their own names rather than using pseudonyms.

Most significant, opposition also was growing to Sadat among his followers in the Arab Socialist Party, also called the *Misr* or Egypt Party. Though nominally loyal to the president, members of the People's Assembly were criticizing government legislation in a manner reminiscent of the way American congressmen go over proposals from the White House.

But the most striking example of Egypt's new political freedom came when Sheikh Ashur, a member of parliament from Sadat's party, made a highly publicized "down with Sadat" speech. Ashur was forced to resign, but the election to fill his seat was developing into a free-wheeling multi-party contest—until Sadat banned all his most important opponents.

Sadat, according to official communi-

**Sadat may have hoped that by achieving a quick, dramatic peace with Israel and an equally dramatic improvement in the Egyptian economy he could remain in power without repression. But denied success, he has crushed the opposition.**

ques, did not outlaw democracy. Instead, he "protected" it by banning "anti-democratic politicians" deemed guilty of support of either the Nasser dictatorship or the old Farouk monarchy. Of course this action removed from public life almost all politicians except those personally loyal to Sadat.

#### Back to the Pharaohs.

Indeed—26 years after the overthrow of the Egyptian monarchy and eight years after Nasser's death—Egypt's internal politics have come full circle, with the national leader unable to prevail over either internal problems or external adversaries. Unable either to end foreign control of the economy or to wring real independence from the British, King Farouk emasculated the parliamentary opposition only to be overthrown by the military. Later Nasser imprisoned tens of thousands of Egyptians and stifled real debate within his Arab Socialist Union when his 1967 defeat and growing dependence on the Soviet Union destroyed the popularity he earlier had enjoyed.

A similar symmetry lies behind President Sadat's current suppression of democracy and, so far as his internal promises of political freedom are concerned, marks an ironic outcome to Sadat's long campaign of de-Nasserization.

In his recent autobiography, *In Search of Identity*, President Sadat strongly contrasted his commitment to democracy with Nasser's repression and vowed to succeed where his predecessor failed. Sadat described his sole ambition as to "see my ideals and those of my country being realized." He defined those ideals as "freedom, love, peace and the integrity of man."

Less than six months later Sadat purged his opponents. A few days later, a rubber-stamp plebiscite approved the new repression by the 99 percent margin habitual in Nasser's day. Recently, the president declared that if his opponents tried to resist his measures, "I will make their blood flow in the streets."

It is plausible to suppose that Sadat may have hoped that achieving a quick, dramatic peace with Israel and an equally dramatic improvement in the Egyptian economy would permit him to retain power without repression. Instead—denied success in both areas—Sadat moved to crush the opposition before dissatisfaction grew even more outspoken. Sadat thus finds himself only the latest Egyptian ruler, in a long line going back to the pharaohs, to find autocracy the most attractive solution when caught between the intractability of Egypt's problems and the discontent of Egypt's people.

#### Nothing will happen.

With the Begin hard line prevailing in Israel and with Egypt's internal problems growing, the main question is what form discontent with Egypt's problems will take now that peaceful opposition has been outlawed.

Conservative Arabs, notably the Saudis, along with the Carter administration, fear a resurgence of Arab radicalism if Sadat does not win either a major economic or diplomatic victory before long. But the inward-looking forces of Moslem fanaticism constitute an equal, perhaps an even more dangerous, threat.

Possibly the most pessimistic and most valid prognosis, however, came recently from the man who is Sadat's most famous critic, Mohamed Hassanein Heikal. Currently banned from leaving Egypt or publishing his work, he was emerging as a focal point of unity for the opposition and a potential leader of a post-Sadat Egypt.

Asked what was the worst thing that could happen if the peace process failed and Sadat failed as well to solve the country's internal problems, Heikal replied: "Nothing. That is the great danger, that nothing will happen. The situation will drag on. We won't have peace. We won't have freedom. We won't have progress according to anybody's definition. Egypt will remain a captive of events."

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*T.D. Allman, a contributing editor of Pacific News Service and Harper's has covered the Mideast for both publications and the New York Times, Manchester Guardian and Le Monde.*



## FRANCE

# A Socialist leader offers ill tidings on the left's prospects

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**T**HE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY has practically ceased to exist," remarks Jean-Pierre Chevenement in the car taking him out to the Paris suburb of Bondy for a discussion meeting with Socialist militants of the Seine-Saint Denis department. Chevenement has a flair for striking phrases to sum up a situation. The charismatic leader of the CERES left-wing minority in the Socialist Party (PS) has a relaxed, good-natured manner that could take the drama out of even the most apocalyptic utterances. What he says sounds grim, but he does not.

"The left has discredited itself so badly, that the way is open for the right to make a comeback that could keep it in power for the next 20 or 30 years. People are stunned. There has seldom been such a demobilization. Right now, the left is either ripening or rotting, time will tell..."

We arrive at the small Bondy meeting hall only 15 minutes late, which by Paris political meeting standards is too early. The public, figuring a busy leader like Chevenement will be even later, hasn't turned up yet. So the local organizers troop to a nearby cafe for a hot chocolate and some chatting with their guest. In the March parliamentary elections, the PS picked up the approximately 5 percent the French Communist Party (PCF) lost, compared to previous votes, in this traditional Communist stronghold, but there is no elation among Socialist militants, to put it mildly.

## Victory for capitalism.

In due time, the hall is filled with about 200 people, and Chevenement begins his opening "review of the situation and prospects for the future." What is surprising, he says, is that several months after the elections, there is no real discussion going on within the Socialist party. "Not even the beginning of a discussion, nothing. The PS is struck dumb, numbed."

And yet the defeat was an event of major importance, which leaves the way clear for the right to restructure the economy. "The prospects of a strategy of rupture with capitalism, which seemed feasible a few years ago, have vanished. We must face up to the fact that this is a great victory for the capitalist system."

The same goes for the whole of Southern Europe, where the left in Italy and Spain is now supporting capitalist restructuring, through austerity measures, while

"The left has discredited itself so badly that the right could make a comeback that would keep it in power for 20 years."

in Portugal the Soares government is carrying out the policies of the International Monetary Fund.

For Chevenement, this raises the basic question: "Is the working class movement in the West the bearer of a real change in society?"

More specifically, did the will to carry out profound change exist in France? Chevenement thinks it did not. But since socialism "is not an innate idea," the left-wing parties must be to blame for having failed to present a credible socialist project.

## Communists were sectarian.

Chevenement considers that the responsibilities of the PCF in the left's defeat are "enormous," and date back well before the September 1977 breakdown of the Union of the Left over updating the Common Program. All along, the PCF had a sectarian approach to Union, obstructing development of united action at the base.

The trouble with the PS is that it does not define itself by a line. "Those who have ideas can change them, which those who have none rarely do." But the Socialist party, he fears, changes direction without ever spelling out the issues.

The Socialist party that renovated itself at Epinay in 1971 proclaimed an ambitious policy of transition to socialism which, according to Chevenement, was far beyond its means to achieve. "Did the party forge the means of its policy? No." Instead of facing up to the enormity of the task it had set for itself, it ignored and minimized the difficulties, thus implicitly, but not explicitly, abandoning the project of rupture.

As to whether France wanted profound change, Chevenement refers to the evident "hegemony" of the bourgeoisie in the intellectual field. In one field after another, the influential, or fashionable, theorists in recent years can be grouped, at least by the implications of what they write, more



Jean-Pierre Chevenement (left) and Didier Motchane.

with the Giscardian right than with the left. Of course, as last year's marketing of the "new philosophers" shows, the right has the means to capture public attention for its ideologues. But the left's own inadequacies count too. "We forged neither the thought nor the militants to achieve the Epinay policy. A major debate is called for," Chevenement concludes.

## Two inapplicable logics.

Question time. A CFDT union militant asks Chevenement to explain further what he meant by saying that the PS and the PCF had followed "two different logics," neither of which was applicable.

Chevenement answers that everyone was for "rupture," whatever that meant, and for the Common Program, but nobody read it. Anyway, the PCF single-mindedly went after nationalizations, not facing up to the international hurdles to be overcome, and evading the problem of restructuring industry with its miracle cure-all: the budgetary "savings" that would pour in from eliminating the "waste" of capitalism.

In the PS, there was the growing fear that the CGT (the Communist-led trade union confederation) would take control of the nationalized industries. From 1974 on, with a series of visits to Bonn, Socialist leaders were implicitly accepting another solution, a France that leans on West Germany for financial support when needed, accepting the rules of the free trade game, with the market as economic regulator.

"We didn't do what was needed, along with the rest of Southern Europe and North Africa, to create a counter to West German and American economic power," Chevenement concludes. I don't deny that we would in any case have had to come to terms with the Germans—France's most important export market—and the Americans, but we needed to strengthen our hand. Socialist policy was really slap-dash, unimaginative. The PCF had a bad policy of nationalizations, and the PS had a bad policy of social democracy."

## Women in the PS.

What should CERES strategy be now?

Jean-Pierre Chevenement has no idea. He acknowledges disarmingly that like all other political leaders, he thinks he was right all along, no matter what goes wrong. But now... "Things aren't clear enough yet. We need more discussion." He thinks being in the minority has strengthened the cohesion of CERES. The PS majority has come apart, "no longer exists." Rocard and Mitterrand do not have the same vision of the future.

The CERES line should be: "get out of the capitalist system in its crisis." CERES has always been a minority; the question is, "can we go into a majority with our 25 percent. Which majority?" There is also the problem of "dynamizing the party." In any case, "the PS cannot make a serious new start without us."

A brief discussion develops as to possible new factions in the PS, and men-

tion is made of the "third current" of women recently proclaimed by a group of women Socialists. Chevenement comments that to be a real "current" in the party, the women will have to define their position on a range of issues... He is interrupted by the local woman militant who introduced him (the only woman at the speaker's table among half a dozen men) who announces that she will fight to her last breath any platform that supports women just because they are women, regardless of class position. Hers is the evening's first show of vehemence. Chevenement advises her good-naturedly to save her considerable fighting energy for other battles... The specter of "bourgeois feminism" is quickly exorcized.

## Never had illusions.

A militant, who obviously has been burned by uncomradely conduct from Communist militants, asks whether criticizing the PCF and other PS currents is not a way for CERES to evade the main criticism leveled at it by other Socialist currents, namely that it misjudged the nature of the Communist party?

Chevenement denies ever having had any illusions about the PCF. The CERES position, he recalls, has always been that the PS must be the "motor of unity," forcing the PCF into unity and change by "cornering" it with concrete proposals that the leadership cannot reject without discrediting itself in the eyes of its own base and of the masses. But by implicitly accepting the demands of international capitalism, the PS leadership let the PCF off the hook.

There seem to be vestiges of skepticism in the hall. The CERES ought to be best placed to revive unity of action at the base, but how? Chevenement acknowledges that for the time being, contacts between individuals are all that is possible, and that joint actions are out of the question. This is echoed with more vehemence by some CFDT militants, who declare that at work places, the break is now total between the CFDT and the CGT.

The debate has lasted about two and a half hours, and Chevenement winds it up, as befits a party leader, by professing his own optimism despite everything. "There is a great temptation to lower our aspirations. But I think we have the possibility of proposing another perspective, of real, socialist democracy." For that, the tasks are great: a major, joint reflection on all the problems facing society, from relations with the Third World and other Western countries to the reorganization of work.

The evening ends with smiles and handshakes. It is a gloomy month of May, but the star of the evening has been pleasant and humorous. Even encouraging...but to do what exactly? The immense tasks that he has proposed are essentially tasks for intellectuals. How are grassroots militants in Bondy and Saint-Denis, deprived of any immediate programs or prospects for action, going to manage to tackle such overwhelming issues?

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# KILLING BUGS PLANTS AND PEOPLE



**CHEMICAL PESTICIDES** being loaded into planes for spraying.

Cathy Murphy



## RESEARCH

**For years the University of California has secretly lobbied for pesticides**

By Beck O'Malley & Norman B. Wirt

**O**fficials of the University of California cooperated with pesticide campaign aimed at "protection of the California agriculture and food industry from all forms of illogical and unscientific attack," documents obtained by Pacific News Service reveal.

A meeting called in 1970 by then-California Farm Bureau president Allan Grant mapped a strategy to defeat "the effort to ban or seriously restrict the use of agricultural chemicals, pesticides, etc.," as

his letter of invitation put it. In attendance were representatives of big growers' associations, executives of several agricultural chemical corporations and faculty and staff from the University of California and its agricultural extension services.

These sessions continued for four years. They eventually evolved into the California Educational Foundation for Agriculture and Food Production (CEFAFP).

The new information about CEFAFP, which has never previously been made public, has sparked calls for reevaluation of the historically close ties between land-grant universities like U.C. and big agri-

culture and chemical manufacturers.

"These new revelations show U.C. agricultural officials so deeply in bed with big business interests that people should start calling for a major investigation and housecleaning," says U.C.-Berkeley physics professor Charles Schwartz, a leading proponent of a rigorous conflict of interest code for university personnel who also work for commercial interests.

### University services.

Faculty and administrators from U.C. and its agricultural extension service figured prominently in CEFAFP from its inception, including providing staff support for foundation activities. CEFAFP organizers stressed the value of using the university's reputation to enhance the group's credibility.

In March 1970, for example, Grant (who became CEFAFP's first president) wrote Dr. J.E. Swift, statewide pesticide specialist for U.C., that "To put things in a proper perspective is going to call for a special effort by a prestigious body with no axes to grind. The university seems to us to be a very logical body..."

Dr. J.B. Kendrick Jr., U.C. vice president for agricultural sciences and director of the U.C. Agricultural Experiment Stations and Cooperative Extension, was a

member of the first CEFAFP board, as was U.C. Davis Chancellor Emeritus Emil Mrak.

Several members of Kendrick's staff performed extensive services for the foundation during university work hours. For example, the minutes of the July 1972 CEFAFP meeting show that a letter from Grant soliciting money for the foundation was given to Dr. Kendrick's staff "for rewriting and discussion." And in October of that year ten U.C. Extension staffers met to devise a draft "program to inform housewives of the importance of chemicals in producing foods."

University of California researcher Dr. Robert van den Bosch, who studies biological, non-chemical pest control methods at U.C., says that university participation in CEFAFP was limited to a carefully selected pro-pesticide segment of the U.C. staff.

"The basic incongruity is that it was supposed to tell the truth about agri-chemicals, when in fact it was a blue book of pro-pesticide militants. There was no attempt to bring in the more innovative researchers in integrated pest control to give a balanced picture."

The chemical industry is the major source of funding for university pest-control research, according to Agribusiness Accountability Project researcher A.V. Krebs, who totalled the various categories of grants for research reported by the U.C. Division of Agricultural Sciences last year. "Far and away, the pesticide manufacturers were the biggest contributors to university research. It's research on specific brand-name products, not generic research," he says.

"The pesticide industry isn't interested in answers to problems—elegant, ecologically oriented answers, Van den Bosch charges. "They're interested in products. The whole imperative of pest management today is chemical pesticides, because they're products that can be sold. It's a \$5 billion-a-year industry."

### Political action.

The original founders of CEFAFP, according to the minutes of early meetings, saw the group as performing three potential functions: "public relations, political action and research."

Participants quoted anonymously in the minutes of these sessions seem to have viewed the environmental movement as one aspect of a larger political threat.

"The leftist and radical groups in the U.S. have grasped the opportunity to use the public concern with environmental quality to promote and further their objective of destroying our system of business, industry and government," said one.

But upon receiving legal advice that lobbying would endanger the tax-exempt status of the foundation, the members dropped political action as a formal goal.

The form on which CEFAFP applied for tax-exempt status in 1971 asked: "Are you now, or do you plan to be engaged in carrying on propaganda or otherwise advocating or opposing pending legislation?" The "No" box was checked.

Nevertheless, documents show that members of the group, throughout its existence, repeatedly discussed attempts to influence pending legislation:

• In 1970 D.W. Fillerup, executive director of the California Council of Growers (COG), a lobbying group, sketched a proposed public relations campaign to the foundation. His memo pointed out that public ecological fears were causing "a rash of prohibitive legislative bills in Sacramento and Washington."

"Unless such programs are countered with genuine facts...they will eventually become law, and may cause untold damage to the manufacturers...before they can be corrected or rescinded," he continued.

• In July 1972 a fund-raising letter from Allan Grant sought funds for CEFAFP from manufacturers and growers because "ill-conceived legislation and exaggerat-



ed environmental concerns may deprive agriculture of some of its essential tools."

•In 1973 CEFAFP's Goals and Financing Committee suggested that the foundation could be used to raise \$500,000 for the Council of Growers, to give COG "a new look."

"The function of the new image," continued the report, "would be to amend the Marketing Act of 1937 so that a marketing order of 50 cents per acre could be enacted in order to fund a five-year program to protect California agriculture against all forms of illogical and non-scientific consumerist attack."

Such a marketing order, if supporting legislation passed, would authorize a state-enforced mandatory levy on all farmers. Marketing orders are often used to raise money for agribusiness advertising and promotion by commodity groups such as cling peach and wine producers.

#### New tactics.

CEFAFP eventually disbanded in 1975. After an original seed money grant of \$1,000 from Shell Chemical, it was never able to raise enough money to carry out its grandiose plans; contributions came to less than \$10,000.

Dr. van den Bosch believes the group was no longer needed because by then national organizations had been formed to do the same job more effectively. "There's an organization called CAST (Council on Agricultural Science and Technology), which is exactly the same kind of thing, only it's more cleverly designed and successful," he says.

In his final letter to CEFAFP contributors, Allan Grant (who is now U.S. Farm Bureau Federation president) discussed a consultant's report recommending dissolution of the foundation that pointed to many other organizations that solicited funding for similar goals. CAST was mentioned, as was COG.

But cooperation between the University of California and agribusiness to answer agribusiness critics did not die with CEFAFP. Vice president Kendrick made a speech to a Council of Growers Research Committee meeting last October in which he spoke of "the rising clamor of voices" attacking the role of agriculture in environmental safety, energy use and farm labor—"questioning our objectivity, our objectives, and our motives."

To deal with these concerns Kendrick

suggested that an "aggressively constructive" program was required to convince legislators and the public that what agribusiness does is right. "Our challenge is to do a better job of convincing society that what we do is in the public interest," he said.

Dr. Swift is still statewide pesticide coordinator for U.C. He contends there was nothing wrong with the role U.C. took in providing staff support to CEFAFP.

"It didn't involve any taxpayer's money, just salaries," Swift says.



**DR. ROBERT VAN DEN BOSCH**

Swift shares Kendrick's view that a more effective public relations effort is needed to show that what's good for agribusiness is good for the country.

He rejects criticism that CEFAFP's pro-pesticide bias was improper.

"Of course it was one-sided," he says, "but it was concerned with the total problems of agriculture. It was an attempt to do something for the benefit of agriculture."

His response to critics who raise consumer and safety issues: "You'd better start thinking about agriculture first. This doesn't do agriculture any good; it's a disservice to agriculture."

He says he would support a new organization with the goals of CEFAFP. "But there's so much controversy in the area, we've got to take some other tactic."

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Becky O'Malley is a PNS editor. Norman B. Wirt is an agricultural economist specializing in environmental issues.



## FARMERS

**Farmers are skeptical of alternatives to the use of chemical pesticides**

By Chris Jenkins

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

**T**o many farmers any tightening of rules governing the use of pesticides looks like another ignorant attack by meddlesome outsiders. In a striking example here, busloads of men with broad-brimmed hats shading weathered faces thronged California state legislative hearings early this year to protest proposals for what they regard as unnecessary government interference in pesticide use.

The hearing marked the start of the Environmental Defense Fund's nationwide push for decreasing America's dependence on pesticides by making alternatives available, particularly integrated pest management (IPM). IPM techniques use chemical pesticides only as part of a total program of ecological management. (See accompanying story.)

Because California is a bellwether the EDF launched its campaign here, with a petition to the state Food and Agriculture Department proposing that pest-control advisers be required to tell farmers of other options beside pesticides, and that they report to the state what advice they offer.

The farmers' pest-control advice now comes largely through licensed pest-control advisers. About 90 percent of these advisers are also pesticide salesmen. In 1976 they persuaded the state's farmers to spend over \$400 million on pesticides.

Five years ago the California legislature wrote into its agricultural code that IPM techniques should be stressed over chemical pesticides. But few pest-control advisers know of IPM or have the inter-

est to suggest it.

The proposed regulations would require the advisers to know about IPM and would provide legal penalties for failing to give out information about integrated techniques. They would also require the advisers to report what need they found for a pesticide before advising it, and to allow time for spot-checking of their work by state officials.

#### Farmers aren't convinced.

The use of pesticides in farming has been rising throughout the country as resistant pests have developed and farmers have been forced to pay more for chemicals that don't kill as thoroughly. EDF maintains that IPM can cut pesticide use in half while maintaining crop yields and economic earnings.

But farmers cheered wildly here when state assemblyman John Thurman declared, "If some textbook expert comes and tells me to wait for the good bugs while my crop is eaten by bad bugs, I think I would spray him instead."

"Farmers are not yoyos or fools," he added. "They do not apply pesticides for fun."

"Cheers also greeted Assemblywoman Carol Hallett when she called the proposed regulations a "needless intrusion by big government into the business of producing food."

An opposing view was heard from Robert Towns, who said in a gentle voice to the largely hostile audience, "I have a different perspective from most of you. I want to be farming for the next 40 years and I want to have some resources left."

"Back in Iowa where I come from," Towns added in support of the EDF proposal, "they've used so many pesti-



## YIELD

**The widespread use of pesticides can result in less food produced**

By Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins

**E**vidence is mounting that the ever-increasing use of pesticides in the U.S. is not essential to greater food production. Twelve times more toxic chemicals are in use in this country now than 30 years ago—1.2 billion pounds annually, or six pounds for every American. Wall Street analysts predict that by the early 1980s the current \$2.5 billion pesticide market will grow by 50 percent.

There is increasing awareness of dangers these chemicals pose to workers who produce them, to farmers and farmworkers who apply them and to consumers.

There is also a popular belief, however, that the world food crisis forces a hazardous but necessary tradeoff: greater food production through more use of pesticides—and increased risk of contamination.

But there are facts that challenge that assumption.

•Nearly half the pesticides used in the U.S. go not to farmland but to golf courses, parks and lawns.

•Only 5 percent of the nation's crop and pasture land is treated with insecticides, 15 percent with weedkillers, and

0.5 percent with fungicides.

•Nonfood crops account for over half of all insecticides used in American agriculture. Cotton alone receives almost half (47 percent) of all insecticides used.

•There is evidence that even if all pesticides were eliminated, crop loss due to pests (insects, weeds, mammals and birds) would rise only about 7 percentage points, from 33.6 to 40.7 percent.

Agronomists point out that chemical corporations cut production costs by developing pesticides that kill the broadest spectrum of pests. The companies also increase profits by promoting schedules or "blind" spraying instead of only responding to need.

Such procedures, however, often generate new pest outbreaks—and demands for more and more pesticides. The fact that American farmers are using 12 times more pesticides than they did 30 years ago while pre-harvest crop losses have almost doubled demonstrates the self-reinforcing cycles that heavy pesticide use generates.

#### Compound damage.

A field is not just a battleground of pest versus plant but an interacting system of hundreds of different species. Some are predators that eat the crop-damaging in-

sects. But when these natural predators are wiped out by an insecticide that does not distinguish friend from foe, many ordinarily insignificant plant-eating insects multiply faster than their predators.

As more resistant pests multiply, every increased application of the insecticide will kill more predators but fewer and fewer pests, thus compounding the damage to crops.

In Nicaraguan cotton fields, for example, insecticides were applied approximately eight times per season in the late 1950s. But by the late 1960s pests had increased so dramatically that 45 to 50 applications per season were required, thus giving the Central American country the dubious distinction of holding the world's record for the number of applications of insecticides on a single crop.

In Mexico, Kenya, Malaysia and elsewhere, cocoa, palm oil, cotton, rubber, coffee and other export crops have been devastated by pest attacks unleashed ironically, by the introduction of pesticides.

These self-reinforcing patterns resulting from heavy pesticide use are, of course, not merely wasteful. They are dangerous—especially in the developing countries where American chemical corporations continue to export toxic pesticides banned in the U.S.

During 1967-68 in Nicaragua over 500 cases of pesticide poisoning were reported, with 80 deaths. The U.S. embassy in Mexico in 1974 reported 689 poisonings and seven deaths of agricultural workers due to American-made pesticides. Increasing use of pesticides in Asia is destroying fish traditionally harvested from rice fields, fish that have always served as a valuable, cheap protein source.

And, ironically, even the exported pesticides are boomeranging. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration is currently investigating traces of four cancer-causing pesticides, banned in the U.S., but found

in coffee imported from Brazil and the Ivory Coast.

#### Alternatives.

Crop losses and health concerns have forced farmers to look for alternatives to pesticides, and some of the alternatives are proving even more effective—and less expensive—for pest control.

In Graham County, Ariz., cotton growers proved they could save a lot of money by eliminating blind sprays. Before spraying, they sent trained scouts out into the fields to measure pest levels. Pesticide expenditures dropped ten-fold and so did pest damage.

Similar experiments on 42 cotton and 39 citrus farms in California reduced pesticide expenditures by over 60 percent.

A conservative estimate is that American farmers could reduce insecticide use by 35 to 50 percent with no effect on crop production, simply by treating only when necessary rather than by schedule.

Moreover, certain farming methods can reduce the need for pesticides. Mixed cropping patterns have been shown to reduce the pest problem (and therefore pesticide use) as compared to single crops planted over vast acreage.

Crop rotation is also effective in controlling pests, since the pests that thrive on one crop will be deprived of their sustenance when another crop is alternated.

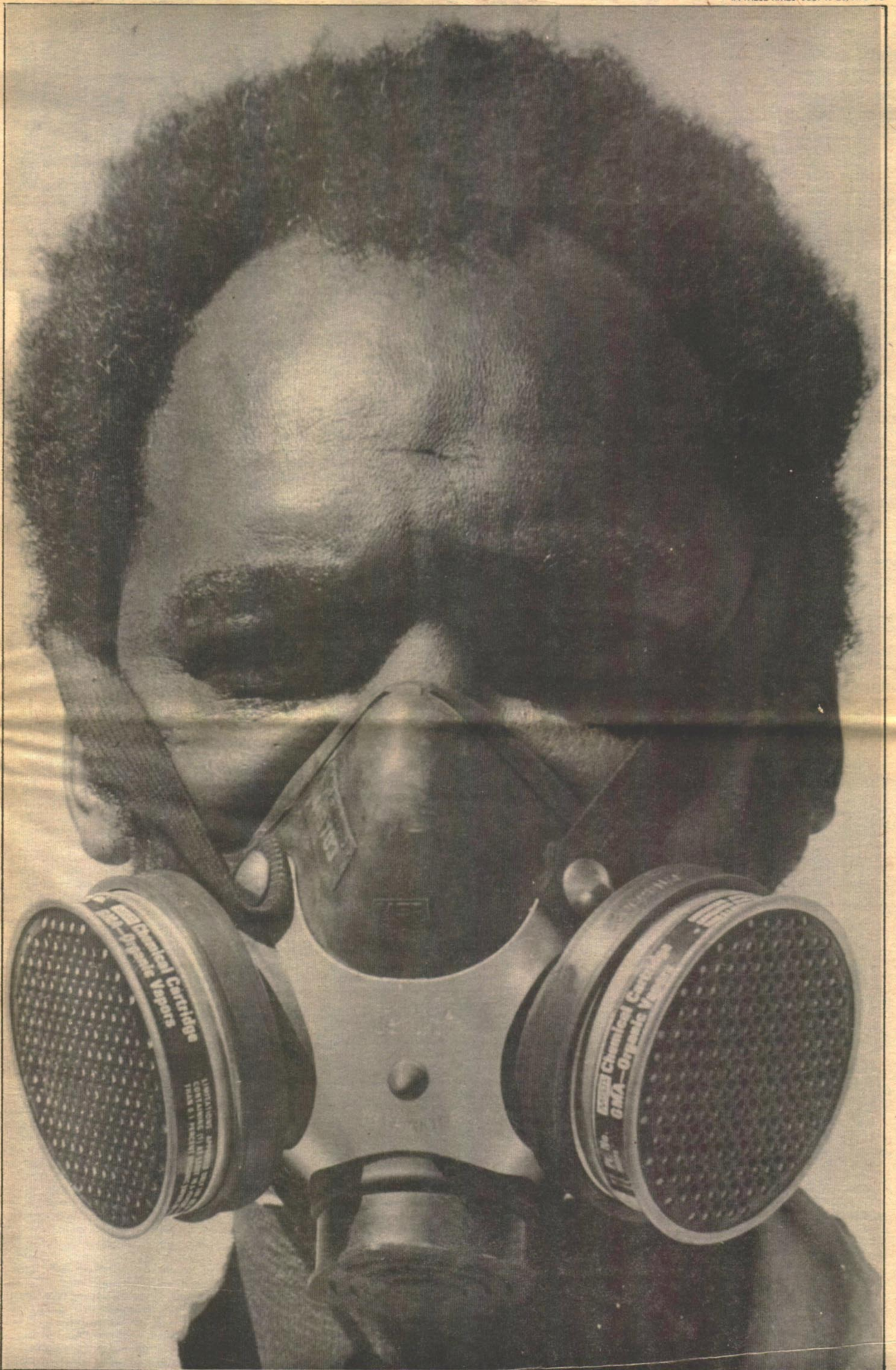
Introducing the natural predators and parasites of crop-damaging insects is another non-chemical method with potential. Mulching—putting organic or even inorganic material on top of the soil—can reduce weeds without herbicides.

Such alternatives demonstrate that a tradeoff of more food production at the price of pesticide poisoning is not inevitable—one is possible without the other. ■

(©1978 Pacific News Service)

Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins are the authors of *Food First*.





**A FLAGMAN FOR CHEMICAL SPRAY** planes models a protective mask that most workers don't wear because they are hot, heavy and difficult to breathe through.

Cathy Murphy



cides you can't find the state flower anymore."

Howard Beeman, a farmer from Yolo County who uses IPM techniques, reported that "during the 1977 growing season I used no herbicides or pesticides on my 150 acres of tomatoes and I experienced no loss in production."

But the audience of about 1,600 obviously appreciated the remarks of Hallett more when she said she feared IPM "is a step back toward the era of fire and sticks, in which pest control is left to the whims of nature and is largely the product of magic and incantations."

Hallett further charged that IPM techniques were "unproven" and that IPM use would "turn our farms into laboratories—and our crops into guinea pigs."

But lawyer Tom Miller, testifying for California Legal Assistance, a group that handles legal grievances of farm workers, applied the guinea pig analogy differently. Noting that a number of pesticides have the potential for causing cancer and birth defects, Miller contended that the "Massive use of pesticides means that growers, agricultural workers and the public-at-large are essentially human guinea pigs."

#### Opposing sides.

Those favoring IPM and cutbacks in pesticide use come largely from universities and the government's regulatory agencies. Farmers tend to label them "agricultural dilettantes," "social engineers" or "radical environmentalists."

The licensed pest-control advisers, on the other hand, are almost unanimously opposed to the EDF proposal.

Also opposed are the agricultural commissioners who run the California Department of Food and Agriculture at the county level and would be charged with enforcing some of the new procedures. At its annual meeting last year the California Agricultural Commissioners Association (CACA), for instance, adopted a resolution urging the Food and Agriculture Department to "curtail the further proliferation of the rules and regulations pertaining to pesticide use and worker safety."

Attorney Miller responds that "the 'ag' commissioners are really the voice of agribusiness. They are appointed by the county board of supervisors, which, in an agricultural county, largely represents agricultural interests."

Many of the farmers who came to the Sacramento hearings learned of them from radio spots that blanketed the San Joaquin Valley, urging farmers to attend and warning that the new rules would mean higher taxes, higher food prices and farmer bankruptcy.

Farmers have felt increasingly beleaguered in recent months as the federal government moved to enforce a long-ignored law that restricts the supply of federally developed water to family farmers, and as the national farm strike met with little success.

Many of them are frightened that public outcries against the dangers of pesticides will lead to regulations that will cut into their revenues.

Ironically, conservative farmers who voted for the property tax cuts of Proposition 13 last month may have brought about stricter enforcement of state pesticide regulations. The regulations are presently enforced by county agriculture commissioners. But with the loss of property taxes, which supplies over 50 percent of the county ag commissioners' budgets, many in Sacramento are speculating that responsibility for pesticide regulation will shift from the county to the state. "We have nowhere to go but up," says EDF staff scientist Zack Willey, commenting on such a shift.

On the other hand, other environmental lobbyists in Sacramento are concerned that California's tighter budget will mean a harder time paying for the enforcement of environmental regulations.

Meanwhile, the EDF petition to enforce IPM is collecting dust in the Department of Food and Agriculture. "DFA will reject it," predicts Willey, "and there is a good possibility that we will go to court, probably this fall."

Chris Jenkins is a writer-researcher specializing in environmental issues.

farms now use IPM methods, including some of the largest cotton, citrus and vegetable ranches.

In California pear orchards, where the chief pest problem is the codling moth, IPM experts track the moth and judge his activity and abundance through the use of traps. Pesticides are used only during peak periods and in the lowest possible amounts.

Where IPM is not used, Wheedle says, pesticides do kill the codling moth—but other insects such as mites are raised to pest status and do costly damage. If all pear farmers in Sacramento County used IPM, Wheedle estimates, they would save \$300,000 and 30 tons of pesticides.

Similar results have been reported from elsewhere around the country:

- Pest-control costs were reduced 80 percent when IPM techniques were used in a 50-square-mile community-wide project on the lower Mississippi Flood Claim in Arkansas. Eight of the ten usual pesticide treatments were deemed unnecessary.

- In Washington State apple orchards IPM reduced use of insecticides by 50 percent; in Michigan and Pennsylvania orchards they were reduced by 20-30 percent.

- In Texas IPM developed a dwarf cotton plant that not only reduced pesticide use but also required less water, less fossil fuel and less time and less labor.

These results bolster the contention of those who argue that widespread pesticides are actually counter-productive. In 1977, according to the agency, 50 million pounds of chemicals were used to control pests, and lost just seven percent of the crop. Today they suffer an average of 10 percent preharvest loss.

For many, the key in the approach of the IPM supporters is that they concentrate on pest eradication rather than on balance and control. Entomologist Ray F. Smith, considered the "father" of IPM, says that more than half of the known crop-damaging pests have built up resistance to chemical poisons. And, Smith says, destruction of natural predators has elevated entirely new classes of bugs to pest status.

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## DISSENT

All across the country individuals and groups say they've had enough

By Stephen P. Cook



One day in 1957 spray planes authorized by the state of Massachusetts attempting to control mosquitoes with deadly pesticides, accidentally killed birds in the private bird sanctuary of Olga Huckins.

Outraged and wishing to fight back, Huckins sent a letter describing the incident to a friend, nature writer Rachel Carson. Olga, faced with prospects of larger spraying operations, begged Carson to find someone in Washington who could help.

In the task of finding that "someone," Rachel Carson realized that she had to write a book. *Silent Spring* was finished in 1962, and its publication triggered the public controversy over indiscriminate use of dangerous chemical pesticides, and some feel the mass environmental awareness and activism of the '60s and '70s.

Every year 14,000 people are poisoned by pesticides that are daily applied to millions of acres. Two hundred of those people die soon after; others suffer assorted health problems.

One apparent victim was Billee Shoecraft of Globe, Ariz. One Sunday morning in June 1969 she stepped outside her bedroom door in a nightgown and was covered with spray mist from a Forest Service helicopter spraying in the adjacent Tonto National Forest.

The incident brought Billee into action. She organized hundreds of local residents in a mock funeral procession carrying dead garden plants and fruit trees many miles to the disbelieving Forest Supervisor's office. Shortly after, Billee wrote the book *Sue the Bastards!*, which she did.

In fall 1976 this remarkable lady underwent major surgery for cancer and doctors found herbicides in her body tissue. She died in January 1977.

Aerial applications account for 65 percent of the pesticides applied in the U.S. Of that material, only around 25 percent goes to the target area and the rest contaminates the environment, says Cornell University's Dr. David Pimental.

#### Coalition formed.

Individuals are also joining together to fight—particularly in the battle against the use of herbicides in forestry. People representing citizens' groups from 16 states and Canada met last February in Washington, D.C., to forge the Citizens National Forest Coalition (CNFC).

CNFC is seeking alternatives to present Forest Service practices: an end to the use of chemical herbicides, and the beginning of a new, more ecologically sane, labor intensive approach to managing our forests.

The Forest Service uses about 400,000 pounds per year of over 20 different herbicides, two of which account for 75 percent of that usage, 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T. They're used chiefly to "release" valuable conifers from competing hardwood species and other vegetation—the herbicide killing the broadleaf trees or shrubs, while leaving the fir or pine trees relatively unaffected.

Recently the Forest Service has been sued by citizens' groups, most notably in Oregon, Arkansas and Wisconsin, over its use of herbicides. These lawsuits seek to prevent use of phenoxy herbicides (2,4—D, 2,4,5-T and Silvex) in local national forests.

In Oregon, where Citizens Against Toxic Sprays (CATS) is battling herbicide use, in March 1977 a U.S. District Judge in Eugene ruled that the Forest Service Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) violated the National Environmental Pol-

icy Act. He permanently enjoined the defendants from applying 2,4,5-T or Silvex (both contain the highly toxic contaminant dioxin).

The victory for CATS is only a partial one and may be short-lived as another EIS has been prepared and an appeal to the ruling is already underway.

In Arkansas the Newton County Wildlife Association, a group of mountain people and environmentalists, obtained a 1975 federal court injunction that has halted all Forest Service spraying in the Ozark-St. Francis National Forest. The Sierra Club has also intervened in this case, which is due to come to trial soon.

Other organizations are battling timber industry use of 2,4,5-T, as well as its other uses in right-of-way maintenance and for rangeland management. Several Indian tribes are protesting spraying on forests near California's largest reservation, and a group in southern Arkansas has been picketing International Paper Company over 2,4,5-T use near their rural homes. Several citizen-utility company clashes have resulted from use of these poisons, while relations in many rural neighborhoods have become strained over ranchers' spraying to create or maintain pasture.

#### Alternatives exist.

There are alternatives to herbicides. While in Washington, CNFC members presented Forest Service officials with an economically sound plan designed to put people to work in ecologically managing forests using manual methods.

Such methods have been successfully demonstrated by forest workers in Northern California (Group for Organic Alternatives to Toxic Sprays: GOATS), and Oregon (HOEDADS, Inc., a co-operative of 300 workers with a payroll of \$1.2 million).

In Siuslaw National Forest, Oregon, average cost of conifer release using herbicides ranges from \$35-60/acre, while corresponding costs for hand release may run \$60-80/acre or more. However, CNFC argues that herbicide cost figures do not reflect true costs to society. They would like to see welfare and food stamp payments, along with unemployment benefits paid to people who could be working in national forests, and other costs figured into the cost equation. "Hire People, Not Poisons," CNFC suggests.

Economics aside, manual methods may be superior to herbicide use. They can hold soil erosion to a minimum, reduce fire danger and insure suitable wildlife habitat.

All of the opponents of herbicides have been looking for help from the government.

A recent EPA decision indicates that, for 2,4,5-T battles at least, the help may soon be coming. On April 11, EPA issued a Rebuttable Presumption Against Registration (RPAR) notice for this herbicide. This submits 2,4,5-T to a complex information-gathering process concerning risks and benefits of its use.

The review process is scheduled to last about one year but may be lengthened by chemical industry lawsuits. The outcome could be an end to all uses of this chemical if, as citizen groups hope, EPA responds to mounting scientific evidence indicting 2,4,5-T and continued public pressure. Or, if the agency succumbs to massive chemical and forest industry pressures, the RPAR process could result in a continuation of current 2,4,5-T uses.

In the meantime, spraying—unless locally halted through citizen efforts—continues and the war against pesticides drags on.

Stephen P. Cook is a member of Newton County (Ark.) Wildlife Association.



## PESTS

Alternatives exist for pest control

By Paul Shinoff

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

A traditional pest-control system long overshadowed by reliance on chemical poisons is making a comeback with the aid of computer technology, sophisticated pest traps, new measuring devices—and mounting problems with the chemical poisons.

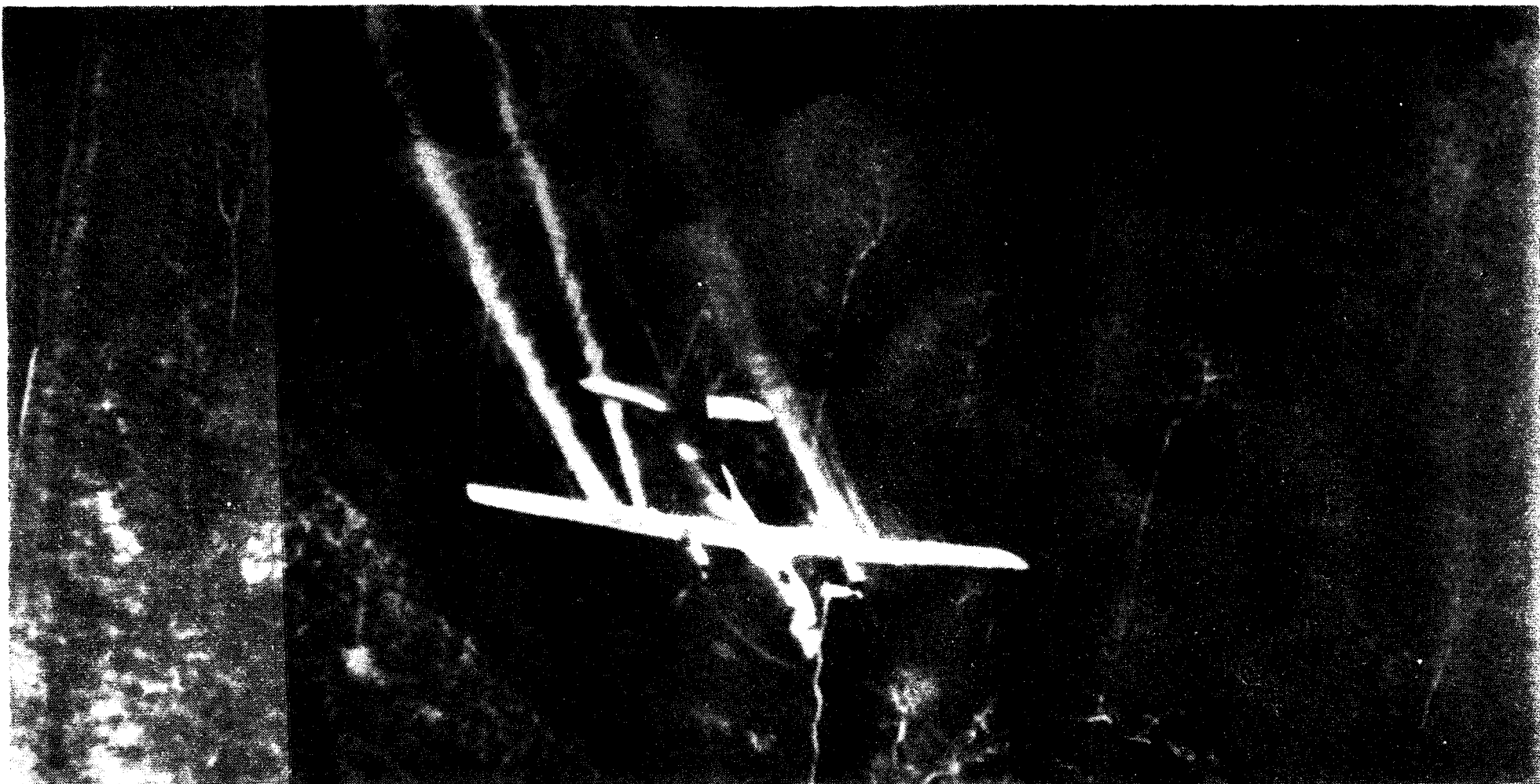
The system is called "integrated pest management" (IPM)—a total crop management strategy in which chemical poisons are used only as a last resort.

IPM experts continuously monitor the level of pest and nonpest species in an agricultural system to determine at which pest levels management becomes necessary and beneficial to the grower. Then they rely on a variety of techniques to manage the pest, including predator species, sterile insects, releasing sex hormones into the population; and using nematodes, bacteriological pesticides, and the fully timed limited application of chemical pesticides.

IPM is hardly a new concept. California's citrus industry used the vedalia beetle to battle the cottony cushion scale. The beetle and other petiochemical pesticides were used off the beetle in the 1940s and the citrus pest returned, biological control experts convinced farmers to stop spraying DDT and reintroduced the vedalia beetle.

An estimated 10 percent of California's





**OVER 20,000 TONS OF HERBICIDES** were dumped on Vietnam by planes such as the one shown above. The VA is giving the cold shoulder to vets apparently suffering horrible side effects from exposure to the chemicals.



## AGENT ORANGE

The effects remain long after the "accidents" are cleaned up

By Leonard Rubin & Ann Davison

*During the Vietnam war, herbicidal war chemicals were utilized for defoliation of vegetation. Some scientific and other groups [are concerned] that these chemicals may produce adverse health effects on individuals who were exposed to these herbicides. Because of their potential impact on a segment of the veteran population, the VA is attempting to develop accurate information on the health-related effects of these defoliants...*

—V.A. internal memo, May 17, 1978

**T**he Veterans Administration's concern has been prompted by hundreds of Vietnam veterans reporting symptoms that, some believe, are the result of exposure to chemical defoliants in Vietnam. If a definite link is established, it could have a major impact on the vast interlocking network of chemical companies, regulatory bodies and agricultural and lumbering interests in the U.S. and abroad.

The most toxic of contaminants found in these defoliants is 2,3,7,8-tetrachlorodibenzo-p-dioxin, commonly called dioxin. It often appears as a byproduct in the manufacture of 2,4,5-T (trichlorophenoxyacetic acid) one of the two ingredients found in most of the herbicides used in Vietnam.

Medical researchers believe that the following are symptoms of dioxin exposure: chloracne rash (skin disorder), liver abscesses, numbness in limbs, personality change and extreme soreness in joints. Also, miscarriages, still-births, and offspring with birth defects have been widely reported where either parent has been exposed to dioxin.

Despite the growing number of veterans who have reported these symptoms, the VA has been adamant that only chloracne is definitely associated with herbicide exposure. Allegations that traces of dioxin would be found in the fatty tissue of exposed vets has been dismissed by the VA's scientists as "implausible," and they've been unimpressed by studies that suggest that prolonged exposure may

result in hepatic and pancreatic cancers.

The VA maintains (as does Dow Chemical, the principal manufacturer) that dioxin is quickly excreted from the body and produces no long-term effects. Further, they assert that little evidence has been found to suggest a link between defoliation and the birth defects reported in South Vietnam.

One basis for questioning the rather limited position of the VA is the existing evidence of the effects produced by dioxin accidents that have occurred over the past 30 years.

At least five explosions have taken place at plants producing 2,4,5-T. In all of these cases, the incidence of chloracne was widespread, but in every case other serious physical problems were reported as well. Among them were severe liver damage, increased blood pressure, severe depression, disturbance of memory and weight loss.

Another significant aspect of these disasters is that although the symptoms of most of the people affected peaked after one or two years, some symptoms were still manifest eight years after exposure. Dioxin is so toxic that even after five years men working in a contaminated area wearing protective covering still contract chloracne.

Previous experience, therefore, indicates that the effects of dioxin exposure are extensive and persistent.

### Seveso disaster.

One dioxin disaster is particularly important because of its magnitude and nearness in time. On July 10, 1976, an accidental explosion in a chemical factory near Milan in Italy, produced a chemical cloud containing three kilograms of TCDD (dioxin) that eventually descended and settled over a 700-acre area comprising the small towns of Seveso, Cesano, Maderno, Mada and Desio. At the time, Italian newspapers reported that the amount of dioxin disseminated at Seveso was enough, in theory, to kill 100,000 or more people.

The factory is owned by a company called ICMESA which, it turns out, is a subsidiary of Hoffman-LaRoche, the in-

ternational drug firm that is perhaps best known for producing two of the most widely used drugs in the West, librium and valium.

It took plant management ten days to inform local officials that the toxic cloud that had enveloped the area contained dioxin. During the period between the blast and this revelation, the population was only advised to refrain from eating and storing fruits and vegetables. It was not until two weeks after the explosion that a physician from the company advised the regional health administrator that the contamination was serious enough to warrant evacuation.

Since earlier dioxin-associated disasters have created a host of serious health problems, there was great concern about what the effects of the explosion would be. By the time of the evacuation, 36 people had been hospitalized with skin lesions and other symptoms. At least 500 people eventually developed skin eruptions. It is estimated that at least 90 women underwent legal and illegal abortions because they were afraid that their offspring might be seriously deformed. A survey taken immediately after the explosion has shown that the rate of spontaneous abortions (miscarriage) was twice the rate previously recorded in the area.

Two years later, there continues to be sharp disagreement about the effects of this dioxin disaster.

The *New York Times* recently reported, for instance, that, according to Hoffman-LaRoche, "Scientific findings now permit the 'confident assumption' that no serious and permanent damage to health occurred." The Roche report contended that skin changes that appeared at the time of the blast have disappeared, breakdown in liver functioning has not resulted and impairments in pregnancy have not occurred.

(Roche also maintains that the population was spared "grave damage" because they "compelled" the authorities to force evacuation of the area. There was, of course, no mention of the fact that Roche waited ten days to inform the "foot dragging" local authorities that there was any reason to evacuate the population.)

### Negative evidence.

Not all of the parties involved in the Seveso affair are as optimistic about the minimal effects of the blast on health, however. On June 25 (the same day that the *Times* article appeared), at a press conference held in conjunction with a conference on environmental health hazards hosted by the New York Academy of Science, two Italian doctors who have been conducting research on the Seveso disaster presented a different view of the situation.

Asked to evaluate the Roche statement, Drs. Pocchiari and Marconi maintained that its conclusion was unwarranted. They said that there was no doubt that close to 200 cases of chloracne, mostly in children, have appeared, and that among adults there was a significant incidence of neurological problems. They stressed that much more time would be needed to determine whether there would be any long-term effects of the exposure.

The likelihood of long-term effects has increased as a result of some work that has been recently completed. According to Marconi, three new studies have demonstrated a link between exposure to dioxin and cancer. In these experiments, rats and mice exposed to dioxin developed tumors of the lung and liver.

Another participant at the Seveso conference presented some material on research being done in Vietnam on the effects of dioxin. Alastair Hay, a veterinarian from Leeds, reported that Prof. Ton That Tung, a Vietnamese surgeon, has suggested that dioxin may be responsible for an increase in liver cancer in Vietnam. Hay carefully noted that the evidence for the link with cancer was circumstantial, and that many other factors would have to be considered before a stronger relation could be asserted.

Elsewhere, Hay cited work being done by a Vietnamese cytologist, Dr. Bach Quoc Tuyen, who is convinced that the defoliation program has resulted in an increase in the rate of birth abnormalities and chromosomal aberrations.

Another scientist, Dr. J.R. Allen at the University of Wisconsin, has been investigating the effects of TCDD on non-human primates. In a recent study, Allen showed that female rhesus monkeys consuming very small doses of dioxin were much more likely to abort fetuses than a group not exposed to dioxin. Allen has also observed deleterious effects on male animals exposed to dioxin.

Recent scientific investigation of the effects of dioxin indicate that there is strong reason to believe that its teratogenic (birth defect producing) and carcinogenic effects are very real. Contrary to the claims of the VA, Dow and Roche, exposure to this substance cannot be minimized.

Since it is very difficult to isolate its effects, it will not be easy to make the kind of definitive statement that the VA will require to allow disability claims. However, this technical issue should not be allowed to obscure the fact that large numbers of Vietnam veterans were exposed to the highly toxic substance and that the potential for continuing exposure of workers and others represents a grave threat to the public health.

■  
*Leonard Rubin and Ann Davison are New York science writers.*





# DIOXIN

Uncovered by accident, the number of cases is rising dramatically

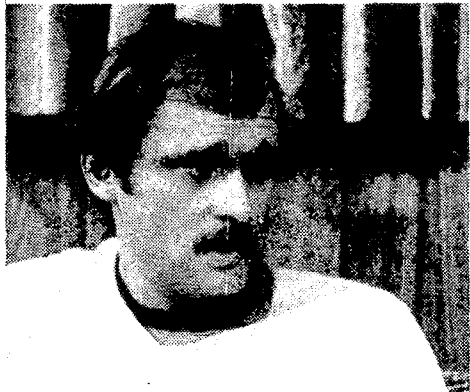
By Tod Ensign and Michael Uhl

**A** powerful herbicide that was used by the U.S. military to defoliate large areas of Vietnam from 1962 to 1970 appears to be claiming new victims—the American soldiers who fought there.

Over five million acres of Vietnam, equal to the land area of Massachusetts, were doused with highly-toxic herbicides, although no comprehensive testing of their long-term effects on people and soil had been conducted.

The primary defoliant was called "Agent Orange" by a nickname-happy Pentagon. (The entire defoliation program was given an even more cynical code-name "Operation Ranchhand.") Agent Orange is made by mixing equal parts of herbicides 2, 4-D and 2,4,5-T; the latter is known to contain TCDD dioxin as an accidental by-product. Dioxin is believed to be the most toxic synthetic chemical known.

The military used Agent Orange to clear jungle cover and to destroy rice crops as part of its "counter-insurgency" effort. As early as 1967 the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam charged that the U.S. was using Vietnam as a test-



**PHIL PLAYED SEMI-PRO ball before going to Vietnam; now he can't move his arms or legs.**

ing ground for scientific warfare. They reported finding significantly higher rates for miscarriages and birth defects among civilians in areas that had been defoliated.

The American command quickly dismissed these claims as "propaganda," but it is undeniable that Vietnam constituted the first time that defoliants were used on a massive scale to achieve purely military objectives.

About eight months ago a Veterans Administration claims worker in Chicago, Maude De Victor, began to notice a puzzling pattern of symptoms among Vietnam veterans she interviewed. They complained of chronic skin rashes, arthritic-like soreness, stomach and liver problems, numbness in their limbs, and extreme fatigue. A disturbing number also reported that they'd fathered children who were either miscarried or born with genetic birth defects.

The men came from widely diverse backgrounds, white, black and Hispanic. They shared, however, one common experience; a tour of duty in Vietnam during the eight-year period when 20,000 tons of defoliants were being dumped on the countryside.

At first, De Victor's supervisors encouraged her investigations into the possibility of dioxin poisoning. But after she'd logged 40 cases or so, their attitude changed. Without warning she was reassigned from the claims office to a back-room job where she'd have no further contact with potential claimants.

However, a Chicago TV station, WBBM, had already become interested in her story. Its news staff prepared a special documentary, featuring interviews with

Chicago-area vets who believed they were victims of dioxin poisoning. The day after the March 23rd broadcast, the VA was flooded with inquiries from hundreds of worried Vietnam vets from throughout the area.

Clearly, a scandal was brewing and the VA was eager to confine it to the Chicago area if at all possible. Internal VA memos indicate they decided to take a hard line; denying any "service-connection" and hoping the storm would pass.

In response to rising concern over the number of Vietnam veterans exposed to possible dioxin poisoning, the New York-based Citizen Soldier organization initiated a toll-free telephone service in early May so that veterans from all continental states could call for information and assistance.

Within a few days the phone lines were jammed with callers. Working with a small staff and a few volunteers, Citizen Soldier logged over 1,000 calls within a four-week period.

Of the total, at least 700 were from veterans who reported symptoms associated with dioxin poisoning. Many of the callers gave poignant accounts of the difficult years since they returned from Vietnam. Typically, they've been suffering with the ailments for years and have made the rounds of doctors and hospitals without successful treatment.

Veterans are being sent a detailed medical questionnaire that Citizen Soldier has prepared with the assistance of volunteer doctors and researchers. In the months ahead, these questionnaires will form the starting point for a major epidemiological study of Agent Orange victims.

## Case studies.

Profiles of typical cases follow.

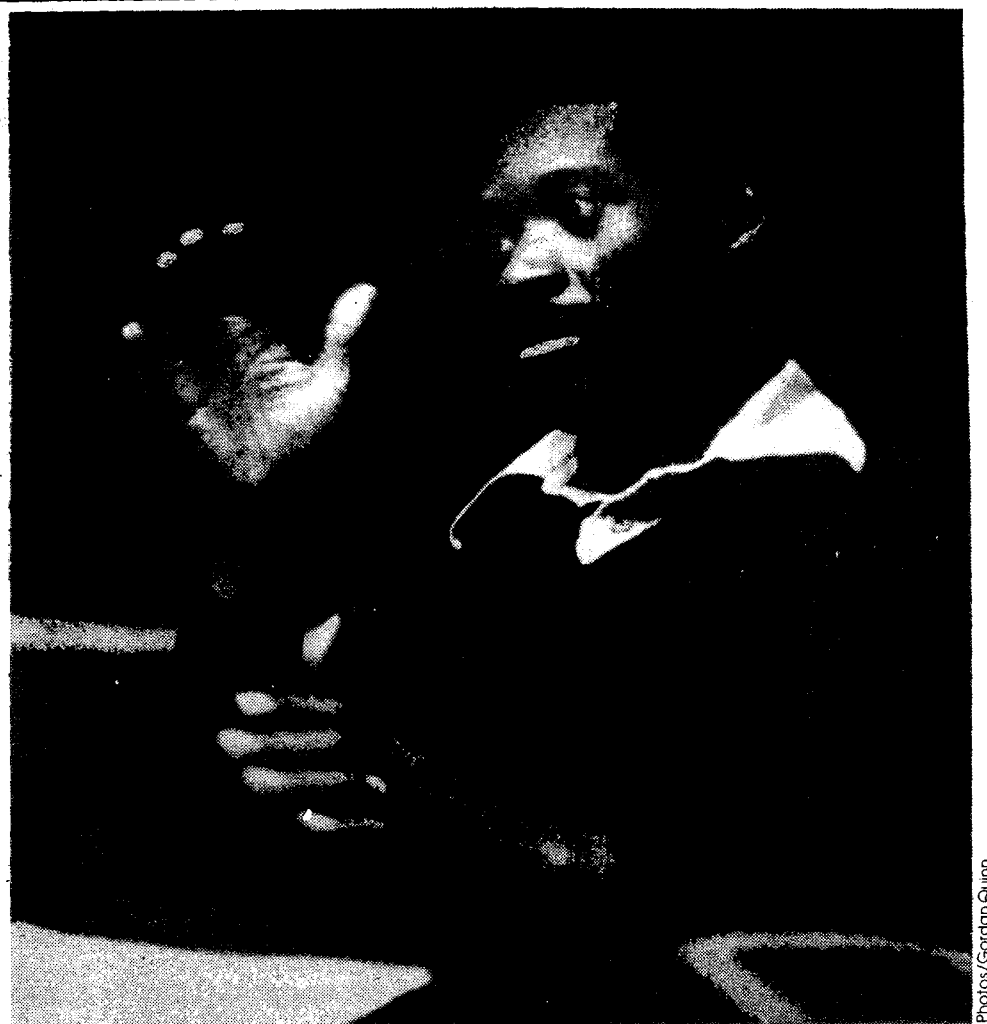
**Phil H. of Tinley Park, Ill.**, flew as a crew chief on helicopters in Vietnam during 1968. On at least three occasions he recalls flying directly through clouds of defoliant mist being sprayed by accompanying helicopters. "We were completely ignorant about defoliants; we never covered up or used masks when we flew through it," Phil recounts.

Although he played semi-pro football before going to Vietnam, Phil now suffers from painful aching in his arms and knees, has an undiagnosed liver ailment, and experiences extreme fatigue. One of the two children born after his return home is retarded and must be kept on medication due to his extreme hyperactivity.

**William D.** lives in Las Vegas today because "my skin can't stand any humidity—I need a desert climate." He suffers from a severe rash that has turned one side of his face "as white as typing paper." Bill was a helicopter crew chief who flew a number of gun support missions with defoliating helicopters between June 1965-66.

**Milton R.** from Matteson, Ill., served two tours in Vietnam as a Green Beret. "Our base camps were continually sprayed with herbicides by helicopters that flew as close as possible to our perimeter. We were told this was to provide 'friendlies' with clear fire zones," Milt recalls. Since returning home Milt has suffered from a body rash, nausea and severe depression and anxiety. His wife gave birth to Richard, whose fingers and toes were either missing or deformed.

**Sam O.** from El Paso, Texas, is an active duty NCO who flew on defoliating missions while in Vietnam. He suffers from a chronic skin rash that is so acute he requires hospitalization. "Once it flared up so bad in the middle of winter in Alaska," Sam reports, "that I couldn't bear to wear clothes."



**SINCE RETURNING FROM VIETNAM Milt and his wife Bobbi have given birth to a baby whose fingers and toes were missing or deformed.**

**Mark B.** from suburban Detroit and his wife have tried to have a family for several years. Her first two pregnancies ended in miscarriages while a daughter born recently weighed 3¼ pounds at birth. Mark, who was a Green Beret in Vietnam, suffers from severe rash and a liver ailment that the doctors can't explain.

**Henry B.** from Chicago's South Side, worked as a munitions handler in Pleiku during 1967. Although he'd never had skin problems before, he broke out with white bumps all over his body after he came home. "Sometimes they itch so bad I think I'm gonna go out of my mind," Henry reports. He's seen several dermatologists but they cannot treat it successfully. Henry's nine-year-old daughter also suffers from the same skin condition.

**Joseph C.** from Queens, N.Y., suffers from cellular cancer. His doctor told him he was the youngest case he'd ever seen. Joe's body is constantly broken out with skin rash. As a young Army officer in Vietnam, he led his unit on numerous operations into areas that had just been sprayed with defoliants in the Tay Ninh area.

**Charley O.** of West Palm Beach, Fla., witnessed trucks being used to spray defoliants. "They used to drive around the



**HENRY HAD NEVER had problems before, but all of a sudden he started to itch real bad.**

perimeter and along the roads and just let fly with the spray," he recalls. If he's correct, this would invalidate the Pentagon's claim that all spraying defoliants was ended in April 1970. Charley served with the 11th Cavalry for a year, commencing in August 1970. Charley now has a "very itchy" rash and his legs are often numb.

**Harris B.** is a black man from the Bronx, N.Y., whose face is now pitted with holes from an acne-like rash. "My hands and legs still feel like they're losing strength and I have upset stomach most of the time." His unit of the 1st Air Cavalry watched as helicopters flew over and dropped spray on several occasions in 1969.

**John H.** of Plainfield, N.J., and his wife just had a child a month ago. The baby died shortly after birth, as it had no kidneys and her lungs were only partially formed. There is no history of genetic birth defects on either side of their family.

John's skin rash is getting worse. "It started on my hands after I got home from the Nam, but now it's spread up my arms and onto my back." John finds it unbearable to spend any time in the sun. (Sun sensitivity is a characteristic of chloracne skin rash.) John was with the Army's 4th Division around Pleiku during 1967; he remembers seeing C-123 cargo planes laying down spray as his unit was in the field.

**Ronald B.** and his wife of Orlando, Fla., were excited at the birth of their first child last year. However, the baby was born dead and their doctor could find no explanation. Since he returned from duty with the 1st Marines in the northern part of Vietnam, Ron's hands have become progressively numb.

**Fred M.** of Eatonville, Wash., was a member of the Air Force unit that was responsible for preparing 15,000 55 gallon drums of "excess" Agent Orange for shipment from Vietnam. "Many of the barrels were defective and several times the contents leaked onto my hands and clothes... We didn't have any protective gear at all." At 37, Fred suffered a major heart attack and is now partially disabled; perhaps one of the last victims to contract dioxin poisoning in Vietnam.

These cases are fairly representative of the calls received to date. Probably one in four callers report problems of stillbirth, miscarriage and birth deformities among offspring. As the veterans return the questionnaires and the study goes forward, more definitive conclusions will be able to be drawn.

Like a man arranging deck chairs on the Titanic, the VA continues to deny or at least minimizes any health effects among Vietnam veterans.

A ray of truth shines through even from its own reports. Consider the significance of the following passage from a May 22 communication for every American—not just the Vietnam vet: "...[M]any agricultural agents contain the same chemicals as were incorporated in the Vietnam defoliants. Whenever poisoning is suspected, inquiry should be directed to other sources of intoxication..."

"There are also many industrial sources of chemical toxication whose symptoms are similar to syndromes ascribed to defoliants... a careful occupational history is necessary."

**Tod Ensign and Michael Uhl are with Citizen Soldier, 175 Fifth Ave., NY, NY.**



# IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Oh Darn... Our seven year deadline for independence has expired... So let's just call it quits and head back to England...



## The majority speaks for the ERA

Whatever its ultimate impact, the Washington demonstration July 9 on behalf of the Equal Rights Amendment (see story, page 3) serves to remind us that ERA represents a clear majority opinion among Americans, and that minority obstruction has succeeded in blocking its ratification.

The National Organization of Women (NOW) planned a smaller march, expecting fewer than 20,000 to participate. It engaged in little more than two months' preparation for the event and kept prior publicity to a minimum. Yet somewhere near 100,000 people, men as well as women, turned out from all over the nation, most of them journeying to Washington on their own initiative and at their own expense.

It was a longer march than NOW leaders anticipated, though it thereby symbol-

ized how protracted has been and will continue to be the struggle for women's rights.

Last year the Schlaflys and other anti-ERA bigwigs could bring out scarcely one-fifth the number that marched in Washington for ERA, and even then only with a highly organized and well-financed machinery.

Though the media and anti-ERA propagandists emphasize the Amendment's "failures," the fact is that two-thirds of both houses of Congress voted for the Amendment and 70 percent (35) of the 50 state legislatures have voted to ratify (75 percent—38—is needed).

In Illinois, the only northern state east of the Mississippi yet to ratify, the big story is not that the legislature has rejected the Amendment, but on the contrary, that over and over again it has voted for it. Illinois has not yet ratified because it is

the only state in the union that requires a three-fifths vote in each house to ratify a federal constitutional amendment. The Illinois legislature has consistently voted in strong majorities for ERA, but always, in one or both houses, with just a handful of votes fewer than three-fifths.

The fact that ERA represents a solid majority opinion should not be lost sight of. Nor should the fact that its being stalled represents the work of an obstructive minority that, if permitted to frustrate the nation's will much longer, will have accomplished a dangerous blow against the effectiveness of democratic processes.

It is all to the good that the American political system allows the minority view to be heard and to force serious debate and prolonged consideration on a major issue. But it is another thing to let it have

its way against a majority will to expand democracy and nourish the cause of equality. We have had serious and prolonged debate and consideration on the ERA issue. And the majority view has both sustained itself over the past seven years and dispelled one argument after another served up by the opposition against securing fuller justice to half our people.

There is no good reason consistent with democracy not to lift the time limit on the ratification process, which expires next March. There was no compelling reason for Congress to have imposed it in the first place, it not being required by the Constitution. Not to lift the time limit now would make Congress complicit in the designs of those minority forces in America opposed to democracy, let alone its expansion and enrichment. ■

## Is there a Bakke in the House?

A rider added to the Labor-Health, Education and Welfare appropriations bill in the House would prohibit use of federal funds to enforce any ratio, quota, or other numerical requirements related to race or sex in hiring, promotions and university admissions. The House passed the amendment by a 232-177 vote June 13, two weeks before the Supreme Court handed down its decision in the Bakke case.

The Senate's action on the House rider will indicate the practical impact of the Bakke decision on legislation and affirmative action programs in general.

The House passed the same amendment to the Labor-HEW appropriations in 1977, but the Senate killed it. This time the Senate will be acting on the measure after the Bakke decision.

Congressional observers believe the Senate may well pass the measure this time. One Senate aide explained, "Last year, many Senators considered affirmative action a judicial matter... They didn't want to vote a measure that would be ruled unconstitutional..." But now, as Rep. Robert S. Walker (R-PA), House co-sponsor

of the amendment along with Elliott Levitas (D-GA), said, "The speeches for the amendment on the Senate side were almost written by the court."

If passed, the Senate would all but nullify affirmative action enforcement by the Labor department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance and HEW's Office of Civil Rights, which monitors student admissions programs.

"It is a real sleeper," said a HEW official. "While the nation focuses on the Supreme Court, the tools for achieving affirmative action could go right down the drain through congressional action." Assistant secretary of labor for employment standards Donald Elisburg explained that "if the amendment passes, it would seriously impair our ability to carry out affirmative action. ...How do you measure performance without goals and timetables? How do you set targets? How do you measure good faith efforts? What kind of standards do you use?"

Another HEW official pointed out that since the Walker amendment "would prohibit us from canceling contracts or negotiating settlements with parties who have discriminated on the basis of sex or

race," it would limit if not altogether rule out remedies for correcting the effects of past discrimination.

Representatives Walker and Levitas are prepared to go further if the Senate passes their rider. They have indicated their intention to introduce legislation in the next session of Congress not simply to deny federal funds for enforcing numerical standards but also banning them outright.

Representative Parren Mitchell (D-MD), chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, noting that even with existing affirmative action programs blacks continue to suffer discrimination in hiring, government contracts and admissions to educational institutions, warned that without numerical standards "we will not end discrimination."

He reminded senators that the Walker amendment would feed the rising anti-black, anti-poor sentiment in a Congress that has already cut social programs and reduced the HEW-Labor budget by \$800 million. "This amendment," Mitchell said, "plays right into the hands of those who are arguing...that we have done too much for blacks and women. It just writes a significant part of the population off."

As we noted last week, if applied consistently by Congress, the Bakke decision signifies the breaking of the Civil Rights compromise struck in the 1970s, and the end of the effort to secure the equal protection of the law for blacks and other groups, including women, suffering inequality. The Walker amendment wastes no time in showing us what breaking the compromise means. It also drives home that in practice equal rights and opportunities for non-whites and for women will stand or fall together. Partisans of democracy and equality can afford to waste no more time in mounting the counter-offensive. ■

### Notice to readers

There will be no issue of *In These Times* next week.

We publish 50 issues a year, with the last week in July and the last week in December off for good behavior.



# Letters

## What is male dominated style?

I HAVE READ WITH INTEREST letters from *ITT* readers criticizing the paper for its "male dominated style" and "lack of feminist reporting," as well as requests for presentation of "a true feminist world view."

As a socialist, a feminist and a person who has worked as a journalist in various media, I am at loss to understand what constitutes "male dominated style." When I wrote, covered or broadcast news, did my politics or my sex somehow make me convey a "true feminist world view"? Was my reporting "feminist reporting" by the mere fact that I considered myself a feminist? Sarah Young, Susan Starbird, et al., will have to define their terms before they can convince me.

I can agree that *ITT* has been deficient in covering what have been defined, in the ten years I have been active in the women's movement, as "women's issues." Thank god. To keep women in the intellectual kitchen discussing day care, abortion and family structures is to perpetuate our mental ghettoization to issues that all somehow relate to our traditional function as child-bearers and child-rearers (n.b.-Young cites cloning as an issue of major concern to the feminist movement).

-Susan Collins  
Chicago

## A worldly feminist view

I GET AWFULLY TIRED OF THE so-called feminist's argument which concludes that anything written by a male is suspect of being chauvinistic! I draw attention to the diatribes written by Sarah Young (June 21) and Ms. Starbird (July 5).

Both present absurd opinions, and I hate to think of them as representatives of the feminist movement. Their positions are hypercritical. Note Starbird's last sentence "I await presentation of a true feminist world view in your columns." First, Starbird waits rather than sending her own article to *ITT*. She gives up her power as a feminist by claiming that it is "your columns." Secondly, what is a "true feminist world view?" The feminist movement is full of disagreements, and with some reflection one realizes that liberation from sexism for both men and women is a human process that includes more than written political and economic policies.

-Tallis George  
Los Angeles

## No way

WALTER BROTSKY MUST BE kidding when he asks Roberta Lynch to accept what the weekly *Call* reports about Cambodia as "specific and documented facts" (*ITT*, July 5). *Call* is hardly a credible source. There is no way *Call* is going to print anything that contradicts Chinese foreign policy. That's why it supported the anti-MPLA forces in Angola a few years ago and why its present headlines shriek about Soviet-Cuban threats to Zaire.

*Call's* total adoption of China's foreign policy may be sincerely inspired, but in this period of severe centrifugal forces in the world socialist camp it contributes no clarity whatsoever to the left's needed discussion of foreign affairs. Even worse, *Call's* analysis converges with the "new" cold war against the Soviets, which like the "old" cold war is really the umbrella under which a variety of attacks on the American working class and left are being prepared.

-Dean Pappas  
Baltimore, Md.

## Chinese in Vietnam

THE RECENT INTERVIEW WITH Cora Weiss (*ITT*, June 28) should have been followed with a critical assessment of her obviously biased observations concerning Chinese in Vietnam.

First, she writes off the wholesale persecution of Chinese Vietnamese (CVs) by echoing the present regime's racist charge that *all CVs are corrupt* ("There is no campaign against the Chinese in Vietnam...[only] against corruption") and that while some 80,000 to 90,000 CVs have reportedly fled the country, the number is negligible because "you have to remember that there are 50 million people in Vietnam...."

Second, CVs are supposedly aliens in their own home country, much as pre-World War II Japanese Americans were seen as perpetual foreigners in constant contact with "motherland" Japan. The CV expatriation, Weiss claims, merely represents a precaution against "trouble someday between Vietnam and China... [therefore] you might as well get out while the getting is good."

Is she aware that countless thousands of CVs lived in Vietnam for generations and fought alongside their countrypersons against Japanese, French and Americans?

China's accusations concerning brutal persecution of CVs is essentially correct, despite coverup (unintentional or otherwise) perpetuated by the likes of Weiss. Helen Hui of *East/West* (San Francisco, May 31) reported that numerous interviews with CV refugees "detail many horrible experiences," including constant seizure of personal belongings, harsh discriminatory treatment, denial of the right to speak Chinese, etc. Recently, Vietnam gunboats searching more than a thousand small boats carrying CVs toward the China coast "took practically all the luggage on board, and, in some instance, fired on them."

If *ITT* were not impressive, I would not have bothered to submit these remarks. Keep up the good work.

-Benjamin R. Tong  
San Francisco

## Nazis and gays

ENCLOSED IS MY SUBSCRIPTION for one of the best papers around. I'm quite pleased with *ITT*, but am disappointed that a political event like a ten-minute rally by 25 Nazis is worth a big cover while an all-day demonstration by over a quarter of a million people in the streets of San Francisco in celebration of gay freedom and in opposition to the Briggs initiative was not mentioned.

Except for periodic sensationalism, gay people are simply not discussed in the media. This news blackout is harmful and dangerous because it serves to isolate people.

Since the end of the Vietnam war, the two largest demonstrations in this country have been by supporters of gay rights, yet even the left press continues to ignore or down-play the significance that the gay civil rights struggle has for all Americans. As awful as they may be, the Nazis are rather comic-opera compared to the deadly serious threat to civil liberties represented by the likes of John Briggs and Anita Bryant.

Ira Kulkin  
Berkeley, Calif.

## Nazis and the left

THE NAZI ISSUE WHICH HAS currently captured great national attention is interesting for what is ignored as much for what is considered.

First, the view of civil libertarians, liberals, and leftists who place the issue of Nazi free speech in a context of free speech for other dissidents, i.e. leftists, lacks historical perspective. Those who can remember or have read of the oppression of leftists and liberals in the Cold War (see Cedric Belfrage's *American Inquisition*) or the post-WWI "Red Scare" (see R.K. Murray's *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-20*)

should realize that the defense of Nazi free speech is not intrinsically related to the rights of those on the left.

A certain continuity in oppressive measures can be seen recently in the continual disregard of the civil rights of left-wing dissidents, from the "Chicago 7" conspiracy trial, the Chicago "Red Squad" spying disclosures, and the current involvement of Attorney General Griffin Bell in the FBI's spying on the Socialist Workers Party.

Much of the opposition to the Nazis is based on their mass murder of six million Jews, ignoring the murder of even more Eastern Europeans, Communists, Socialists, and trade unionists by fascists in Italy and Spain, as well as Germany. The larger phenomenon of fascism is deemphasized. This is not a call for denying civil rights to Nazis, but rather an observation that the current discussion of Nazism is both distorted and ahistorical (a conclusion supported by David Mandel's excellent article on the NBC version of *Holocaust* (*ITT*, May 3).

-A.L. Joseph  
Chicago

## Frustrated

EACH WEEK WHEN *ITT* IS DELIVERED, I immediately flip to the back. Each week I am disappointed: either there is no movie review or there is one that misses the point of the film. After months of frustration, I feel compelled to complain.

The most serious defect of your film reviews seems to be an inability to distinguish between the depiction of something and the director's point of view. Too often the reviewer tends to cry sexism (for example) without carefully examining *how* this aspect of the film is actually being depicted. This, I think, stems from an overemphasis on plot and little attention to such things as camera technique, editing, and the juxtaposition and sequence of scenes. Everything in a film is imbued with the filmmaker's attitude toward his/her own subject and this is what gives film its richness and complexity.

Finally, a political critique is too easy and facile when the reviewer only focuses on what the film does not say or

does not do. A more effective critique is one that focuses in on what the film is actually communicating and why. This is particularly important with popular American films. Many of these films contain contradictory political messages and this, in and of itself, is crucial for understanding the manipulative aspects of film.

Good, incisive cultural features are an essential and necessary part of a socialist newspaper.

-Susan Hegger  
St. Louis, Mo.

## Update

READERS MAY BE INTERESTED in the outcome of the two cases on speech in the workplace that I discussed in last week's column.

In *Beth Israel Hospital v. NLRB*, the Court held that while hospitals may be justified in restricting the distribution of union literature in strictly patient care areas, even on nonworking time, in areas such as lounges and cafeterias such distribution should be permitted unless the hospital can prove its disruptive effect on patient care.

Similarly, in *Eastex v. NLRB* the Court held that Section 7 of the NLRA protects employees who seek "to improve their lot as employees through channels outside the immediate employee-employer relationship." The Court went on to observe that Section 7 is modeled on the language of the Norris-LaGuardia Act protecting the "right of wage earners to organize and to act jointly in questions affecting wages, conditions of labor, and the welfare of labor generally."

It should not be supposed that the leopard has entirely changed its spots. In a footnote the Court added that: 1. its holding did not necessarily protect distribution on an employer's premises of literature "urging participation in Revolutionary Communist Party celebration, and of Party's newspaper"; 2. to hold that the distribution of literature about e.g. minimum-wage legislation is protected does not mean that a strike on behalf of the same object would be protected too.

-Staughton Lynd  
Niles, Ohio

## Circulation Report

The following subscription and income figures cover the 15 weeks from March 18 through June 25. They show a decrease in our average weekly subscription totals from 428 subs per week in the ten weeks before March 18 to 245 per week in the ten weeks up to June 25. Average weekly operating income also declined from an average of \$4,362 to \$2,630.

The main drop in subscription and money results from a decline in renewals, from an average of 189 a week in the earlier period to 68 a week in the recent one. There has been no drop in the renewal rate, but expirations are bunched around the end of the year. New subscriptions, including spontaneous subs and reader-generated subs, increased from an average of 89 a week to 120, but many of the new subs in this period were mini-subs that averaged only \$3.00 per sub.

Our operating income has run about \$3,000 a week below our weekly expenses for the last 15 weeks. This deficit will probably continue until September, when subs and income normally increase sharply.

Meanwhile, *In These Times* continues to survive—and to grow—because of an increasingly active readership. We depend on your support, both to get new subscribers and to help us through the initial period of deficit. Building a self-sufficient, non-commercial newspaper on the left is not easy, but we have had substantial help from our readers and expect to more than double our circulation this year, as planned.

Week (ending)	New Subs	Direct Mail Subs	Renewals	Total Subs	Money/wk.
3/18	78	134	70	282	\$3,035
3/25	239	277	67	583	2,970
4/1	185	141	77	403	3,095
4/9	264	74	104	442	3,488
4/16	160	43	101	304	4,431
4/22	134	35	52	221	2,920
4/30	83	22	29	134	1,880
5/6	76	18	35	129	1,946
5/13	103	40	28	171	1,956
5/20	106	45	31	182	2,350
5/27	70	6	26	102	1,295
6/3	58	10	66	134	2,100
6/10	72	4	167	243	4,673
6/17	96	1	106	203	3,503
6/25	79	7	62	148	2,957
15 wks. totals	1,803	857	1,021	3,681	\$42,599
Weekly Averages	120	57	68	245	\$2,840



Manning Marable

## From the Grassroots Whatever happened to Black Power? Part II



At Morehouse College in Atlanta, Ga., in April 1970, Stokely Carmichael unknowingly delivered the eulogy for Black Power.

"Our politicians today have a great deal of power," Carmichael observed, noting the large number of black elected officials who recently obtained office. "The fact is that they have derived this power from the masses of our people. Especially since the slogan Black Power became popular."

Carmichael was correct. In the wake of the Black Power uprising, Richard Hatcher and Carl Stokes were elected mayor in Gary, Ind., and Cleveland, Ohio, respectively. Nine blacks were elected to Congress in 1968. Nixon was forced to make numerous token concessions to Black Power demands: he appointed Elizabeth Koonz, the first black president of the National Education Association, to direct the Women's Bureau of the Labor Department, and named CORE's James Farmer as assistant secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Nixon announced his support for "Black Capitalism" by establishing an office of "minority entrepreneurship" inside the Commerce Department. In the period of less than four years the number of black officials had more than doubled.

"All of these politicians began to spring up" with the popularization of Black Power, Stokely Carmichael recognized. "But they combine the concepts of Black Power with the frustrations of the masses and they use it to further themselves." In short, the vast majority of black politicians simply used the rhetoric of revolu-

tion and black nationalism to get themselves elected. To Floyd McKissick, Black Power meant the acquisition of federal government support for Soul City, his model city in North Carolina. McKissick subsequently endorsed Richard Nixon for President in 1972, along with other conservative Black Power proponents.

As the impetus for the movement declined drastically during the Nixon presidency, the advocates of Black Power moved in different directions. Each group or individual sought to redefine Black Power into economic, political and cul-

### Black Power was a retreat from the challenges facing blacks.

tural terms, largely in isolation from the direction of other groups or individuals. Each self-styled leader fashioned his own program to suit his own narrow constituency.

The most militant Black Powerites, such as Stokely Carmichael, LeRoi Jones, Charles V. Hamilton, Ron Karenga and others, moved toward Pan-Africanism. They initiated a series of grassroots workshops that culminated in the creation of the Congress of African People in 1970 and the National Black Political Assembly in 1972. By 1974 and 1975, however, the militants were divided among themselves on the future direction of black

political activism. Some, like Jones, who had changed his name to Imamu Amiri Baraka, advocated a Maoist Communist ideology. Others called for an emphasis on black culture and reiterated the demand for a separate territory for blacks.

Many black politicians welcomed the development of the National Black Political Assembly because they viewed it as a vehicle for allowing blacks to gain offices within the system. Charles Diggs, mayor Richard Hatcher, Jesse Jackson and mayor Maynard Jackson, among others, took turns participating in the Assembly's national convention. By 1973 and 1974, they became increasingly preoccupied with their local political problems. The socialist dialogue of Baraka and company also frightened these moderates. Despite their continued rhetorical gestures toward black militants, the rank-and-file black elected official no longer has any use for Black Power. The name of the game is now survival at the ballot box.

Where are we today? Jesse Jackson has recently moved full circle back into the pre-New Deal era by endorsing the Republican Party as a vehicle for black people's liberation. Speaking before the Republican National Committee, Jackson declared recently that "Black people need the Republican Party to compete for us so that we have real alternatives for meeting our needs." Jackson evidently believes that "blacks must pursue a strategy that prohibits one party from taking us for granted." In this vein, two black Republicans, John McNeill and Bob Wright of Columbus, Ga., are advising white Republicans how better to market themselves for potential black voters.

And what of the legacy of Black Power? In 1976, nine senators and 45 representatives received 80 percent of the black vote—all are white and all are Democrats. Black political independence, a key element of Black Power as argued by Charles V. Hamilton and Carmichael, has completely disappeared.

In the end, Black Power represented a basic retreat from the challenges that face the black community. Both black moderates like Diggs and Jackson and the militants needed to create a united front—a unified, progressive black strategy that could force changes within government and business. Black Power could have marked the beginning of a truly national black political party, a party that owed its organizational strength to the masses of black working class and poor people. Instead, the militants retreated into an esoteric world of Marxism-Leninism jargon, while the moderates retreated into politics-as-usual, just like the white establishment.

The majority of black people would endorse a change in the current status of black politics. Such a fundamental change, which is the promise of Black Power, can only come about when black people in general and black leaders in particular find the courage within themselves to denounce once and for all the "politics of coalition." Only an independent, black political party can bring about substantial economic and social change that will benefit the majority of our people.

**Manning Marable is chairperson of the department of political science, Tuskegee Institute, Ala., and an associate fellow of the Institute of the Black World, Atlanta.**

Stanley Aronowitz

## Can the California left build a Proposition 13 counterattack?



I have just returned from a meeting of left and community activists trying to plan a fightback campaign against the cutbacks that have already started in response to California's Proposition 13. One group tended to see Prop. 13 in traditional left-liberal terms, as a big business attack against social services, union wages and public sector unions. Therefore, a proposal was made to unite the greatest number around the broadest possible demands.

The other group argued that Prop. 13 had both progressive and conservative features. Voter approval was certainly a sign that a segment of business interests were able to manipulate various strata who were protesting skyrocketing property taxes on the basis of a rightwing anti-popular appeal, to cut taxes, to protest against the bureaucracy in government, and to tell politicians to go to hell.

The second group wished to join voter sentiment against big government and inflationary taxes with a demand to protect social services and workers wages. Therefore, they offered the slogan "no cutbacks in social services, make big business pay."

The debate reflects considerable differences among those organizing to save services and protest budget cutting. One issue is whether the large corporations actually fostered the campaign to cut property taxes, or whether there are runaway corporate leaders taking the initiative. In my view, the evidence points to reluctance of major corporate interests in California to support Prop. 13, even if they are now hopping on a bandwagon because they will benefit from it.

Howard Jarvis and Paul Gann received much of their support at the outset from

local capital, such as savings and loan associations, real estate boards and large commercial landowners. The large banks, industrial interests and major politicians in both parties opposed the measure. They remained committed to the "corporate liberal" policy of supporting a large public sector as a means to disguise the private sector's inability to employ large numbers of workers and as a concession to the labor and popular movements who had fought for education, health and social welfare over the years and because business benefits from a relatively healthy and trained labor force that would otherwise be paid for by a share of profits.

Prop. 13 may not be in the long range interests of the corporations, or may only partially reflect corporate interest. But tax benefits to local capital will be substantial, and this is the financial base of the right wing now vying for power in both major political parties.

At a deeper level, Prop. 13 is a mechanism for shifting a portion of capital from the public to the private sector and to control wages and retard trade union power in the wake of severe international competition. It is also a protest against waste in government, the declining quality of schools, health facilities and public services at the city and county level. It represents a tendency towards the breakaway by rank and file workers from the liberal coalition that has dominated national and California state politics, with some breaks, for more than 40 years. The success of Prop. 13 is as much attributable to the ineptitude and ambivalence of liberal democratic politicians as to the paralysis of the left.

Both business and labor are in a state of disarray and *neither* is united around a single position; the possibilities of forging a coalition are limited.

State employee unions have developed a clear-cut line: no cutbacks in jobs or wages. For the time being in California, their demands may be met, more or less, because of the huge state surplus. But next year may witness sharp struggles between the workers and the Democratic party leadership on the question of whether public jobs and services will be maintained.

In this connection, it is important to note that Gov. Brown has adopted a position that more resembles Jarvis' than that of his own constituency. He is trying to capture Jarvis' base, calculating that labor will have no place else to go in November. Though his electoral strategy is shrewd and may succeed in the short run, he is in trouble both from his left and from his right.

But workers in the private sector and members of the middle strata are not in Brown's or the liberal/labor coalitions' pockets. Even public sector union members have not responded unanimously to the call for resistance. The problem now is to win them over while recognizing the legitimacy of their tax revolt.

Recent legislation limiting tax cuts to residential property is a beginning and various coalitions have formed to advocate this course. There will also be a struggle against regressive taxes that save services and jobs at the expense of wage-earners such as across the board wage taxes and sales taxes. But the traditional line that social welfare should be admin-

istered by means of traditional business practices that result in the expansion of the top and middle administration of government is being challenged. One speaker during the discussion at the coalition meeting suggested that there was room for cuts, especially in administration. He was quickly opposed by some who wished to win the broadest support for a "hold-the-line" position. The argument that Prop. 13 may provide a chance to launch a struggle over the quality as well as the quantity of services, the mechanisms of control within public institutions as much as their size, seemed incomprehensible to many veterans of coalition politics.

Will the left be able to help build a counterattack while acknowledging that recent voter dissatisfaction with government is not merely reactionary?

Among the issues behind Prop. 13 is the extreme isolation of everyday life in suburbia and the "me-first" psychology of many Americans today. The ability of the right to seize on alienation is manifested in the relative success of the "right to life" movement, in the growth of racism, in the anti-welfare impulses behind some pro-Prop. 13 sentiment, and in the attack against pro-choice concepts in sexual conduct. And there is no way on God's green earth that a left will emerge in this country unless it can understand and organize people who feel that way. The fight against the right has to take place on the level of culture as well as on the level of economics or politics.

**Stanley Aronowitz is Professor of Comparative Culture in the Social Science School, University of California, Irvine.**



# Tax reform threatened

Continued from page 5.

Modeled on a five-year-old Michigan law, the most comprehensive of circuit breaker tax laws in 22 states, the Public Action bill—as amended in the Assembly—would provide tax relief to homeowners and renters making under \$25,000 per year. The state would rebate half of any local property tax above 3.5 percent of the taxpayer's income up to a maximum of \$650 minus 2 percent of income. People over 65 years old making under \$10,000 a year would get rebates of all their property tax over 3.5 percent of income.

After phasing in the circuit breaker over four years, Public Action estimates that the average rebate would be about \$150, costing the state \$127 million a year beyond the expense of the current circuit breaker for older people. (Those figures assume 60 percent of those eligible will apply for the rebate, an unfortunately likely rate that would probably mean many poorer people would not receive what the bill provides them.)

After the bill passed the House by a wide margin, Thompson stepped up his attack. Bakalis had adopted the circuit breaker after the main Democratic Party tax measures lost. Immediately the cost of the bill and the presumed benefits became a major issue, with Thompson arguing that the program would cost three times as much as Public Action said, while providing only an average of \$17 in benefits the first year.

Chicago-area Democrats in the Senate suddenly decided that farm land should not be included in the bill. Normally unsympathetic to farm needs, the urban Democrats also argued that a tax reform on farmland passed last year (which ties taxes to average productivity of land), will actually hurt poor farmers.

Public Action fought the deletion of farmland, since the bulk of their support for tax action comes from farm groups in the far south of the state (along with some senior citizen groups and a few urban black organizations). However, the "Public Action bill" was gradually be-

coming the "Bakalis bill," and too many other cooks had fingers in the pot. They won only a pledge to have hearings next year on extending the circuit breaker to farmland.

Public Action executive director Bob Creamer argues that the circuit breaker bill is progressive because it ties property tax to income and shifts more of the tax burden to the state, which has a flat-rate income tax. Citing figures from the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Public Action claims that in the early '70s Chicagoans making \$7,500 a year paid 6.9 percent of income in property tax, compared with families making over \$50,000 who paid 2.1 percent. (A study published by the Brookings Institution, however, challenges the view that property tax hits the poor harder, arguing that long-term trends show that the tax is an effective tax on capital and thus hits the richest harder.)

"This is the most exciting, directly beneficial and ultimately progressive piece of tax relief we could come up with," Creamer says. But he adds that Public Action will press in the future to lower the trigger of the circuit breaker, revive its homestead exemption bill, work for more state funding for local school districts, emphasize more forceful assessment and collection of taxes from business and commercial property and ultimately make the state income tax progressive.

Creamer hopes that the circuit breaker will forestall a Proposition 13 drive in Illinois, but Michigan—after five years with the circuit breaker—still faces a tax limitation drive and Jarvis-Gann style legislation was introduced in Illinois this year. Also, the legislature is opening more regressive loopholes such as an annual \$40 million break on sales tax on machinery for business that Thompson supports.

Unlike a circuit breaker tax that the Citizens Action League and other groups proposed in California before Jarvis-Gann, the Illinois measure does not provide for tax reforms that would raise more revenue from the wealthy. Consequently, public employee unions have been at best only slightly sympathetic to the circuit breaker.

But Creamer argues that there is a lot of waste in government and deep popular concern with quality of services. "If the left doesn't take property taxes and taxes in general seriously, the right will and will win," he argues. "The people will go with whoever appears to deliver the goods to them. The left cannot be advocates of profligacy and waste."

Public employee unions must fight for better quality of services in their contracts, he argues.

Municipal union leaders respond that the problem is inequitable taxes, and that governments need more, not less, money to do their job well. They worry that many of the tax rebels are interested only in cutting taxes, not reforming taxes and favor fewer government services rather than better services. Indeed, Public Action organizers often discovered that tax groups they contacted around the state were full of extreme right-wingers.

Neither tax cuts nor tax reforms guarantee that government will be more efficient or effective afterwards. "There's the simplistic notion," Public Action tax researcher and organizer Andrea Learned says, "that if you just cut taxes that will lop off all the useless bureaucrats, but it doesn't recognize that they're the people who will be deciding what is cut."

Although progressive tax reform could unite municipal unions and tax rebels in a campaign for better government with more equitable financing, it is politically difficult even in the best of times to push through such bills against the dedicated opposition of the wealthy and the corporations.

The property tax circuit-breaker is an alternative to tax limitation measures like Proposition 13 that brings more justice to the system, but it does not short-circuit the need for a more comprehensive action on government finances.

## Furniture

Continued from page 4.

paid less than in Thomasville. "You have to be competitive, I'll put it that way," Holladay said before the election.

Benefits are also an issue, McIver notes. "The benefits are worse than the wages," he says. "They have no pension plan. I think that's a key element as far as the workers are concerned, especially with the older ones. The younger ones are more interested in wages and vacations."

"I didn't know it until I got here, but the wages are really lower than in textiles," McIver adds.

Favoritism by supervisors was also an issue at the West Jefferson plant.

Despite the strong initial interest among the workers at Phenix Chair, the unions faced an uphill struggle organizing there. While 70 percent of the employees signed union cards, fewer wound up voting union when the election came.

Many were frightened by the company, according to June Sexton, who works in the sanding department. "Some people were afraid of a strike. That was a big

point—strikes and violence. They [company supervisors] played that up."

For months, the furniture workers—along with ILGWU—also had trouble finding places large enough to meet. Over 20 churches, along with numerous motels and other businesses, closed their doors to union meetings.

The Ashe County Board of Education denied the unions the right to meet in the schools until forced to do so when ILGWU filed a suit in federal court.

"The management of these companies and the politicians are working to make it as difficult as they can for people to organize," says ILGWU organizer Diamond. "They've got this county sewed up."

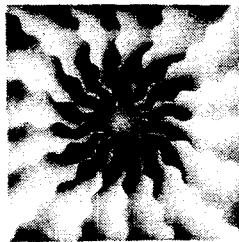
Joe Goodman, executive director of the Ashe County Chamber of Commerce says a union election might keep out new industry. "This could really cause problems for the economy in Ashe County," he says.

But Wayne Eller, a clerical worker at Phenix Chair, sees it differently. Union wages, Eller felt, could benefit the whole community. "Right now, we're behind the cost of living."

Bob McMahon writes frequently for *IN THESE TIMES* from North Carolina.

## FS FEMINIST STUDIES

FS FEMINIST STUDIES



Volume 4, Number 1 February 1978

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Michelle Morgan and Claude Lelouch

## No rats in this crossword puzzle

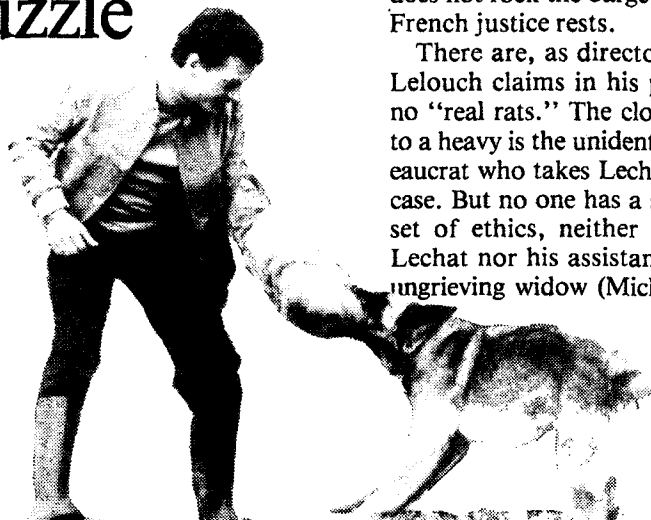
### CAT AND MOUSE

Written, directed and produced by Claude Lelouch  
With Michele Morgan and Sergei Reggiani  
Released by Quartet Films

Here is a French detective film that is mildly suspenseful, marvelous to look at, told in a style that is original enough to keep you thinking you're thinking. And it all comes out neat as a crossword puzzle when you've peeked at the answer.

What makes it better than a way to spend two pleasant hours is its good-humoredly ironic view of the moral milieu in which the story unfolds. It is, and was intended to be, a relief from the cinema's incessant infatuation with policemen.

Lechat has a good job with the Paris detective bureau because he makes a lot of arrests, not because he is above dipping into the loot when there is a chance. He gets fired because he is about to make an arrest his superiors find "embarrassing."



The man who replaces him on the case of the mysterious (?) suicide or murder of millionaire Richard Morgan (Jean-Pierre Aumont) is advised to look for a "left-wing terrorist" suspect. And in no time at all, one falls into police hands, complete with damning circumstantial evidence.

The "left-wing terrorist" (who is neither of these things) is convicted and jailed. The Powers and the public are satisfied. But Lechat is bored. He decides to write

a fictional book on the case. In the process, he solves it. His solution is personal and private and does not rock the barge on which French justice rests.

There are, as director Claude Lelouch claims in his publicity, no "real rats." The closest thing to a heavy is the unidentified bureaucrat who takes Lechat off the case. But no one has a solid gold set of ethics, neither Detective Lechat nor his assistant nor the ungrieving widow (Michele Mor-

gan) nor the sultry siren who was the cause of it all (Valerie Lagrange).

But everyone is agreeable and amusing, including Lechat's untrainable police dog. The acting of a superb cast adds dimension to what was already a well-written script.

Claude Lelouch (*A Man and a Woman, And Now My Love*) wrote, directed and produced. And makes it look easy.

—Janet Stevenson

## Homage to Band's memory

### THE LAST WALTZ

Directed by Martin Scorsese  
Produced by Robbie Robertson  
Starring the Band  
United Artists

I liked *The Last Waltz*, but probably for the wrong reasons.

The film, which has been called a "rockumentary," is the record of the last performance by a musical group (the Band) that decides to pack it in after 16 years of the road. They are tired. There are intercut interviews with band members, all of them worn out and willing to admit it. Robbie Robertson talks in terms of death, ticking off the names of performers who have died as a result of road touring.

This sort of thing is Scorsese's

Not really a documentary, the film is a series of moments.

meat. Self-destruction and the awareness of it have been key concerns in many of his films (*Mean Streets, New York, New York*). The Band offered him ingredients for a further exploration of the area.

It also offered technical problems. There are only so many ways you can cut from a close-up of hands on an instrument to sweating faces in deep concentration. At times Scorsese is so desperate that he stages songs instead of "documenting" the actual performance.

The film is really not a documentary anyway. It is a series of moments, some contrived, some captured live. Many of the guest stars seem uncomfortable. Paul Butterfield never gets around to meshing with the group. Eric Clapton is too laid back, Muddy Waters too quiet. Ronnie Hawkins and Doctor John try to get into the background flow of the Band and you wonder why they are there at all.

Van Morrison shows some fire, as do Neil Young and Joni Mitchell. But there isn't enough time

for any of them to create an explosive moment. Even Bob Dylan's performance is defused.

The music is most intense when the Band plays alone. (They are too polite when the guests are on.) But their final public appearance was more a party of remembrance than a performance of passion. This may be the key. Scorsese is stressing the elegiac, the idea of memory, the past. *The Last Waltz* is homage to something that is over and done with.

Scorsese has more to say about the exhaustion of creation, the hard work demanded of musicians who are, after all, people—fragile and susceptible to the pressures of their trade—than about the glory of stardom and the wonderful world of rock'n'roll.

The Band was smart enough, or tired enough to realize what a toll their work had taken. Scorsese was perceptive enough to present that as the central idea. That is the success of *The Last Waltz*.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann reviews movies regularly for *In These Times*.

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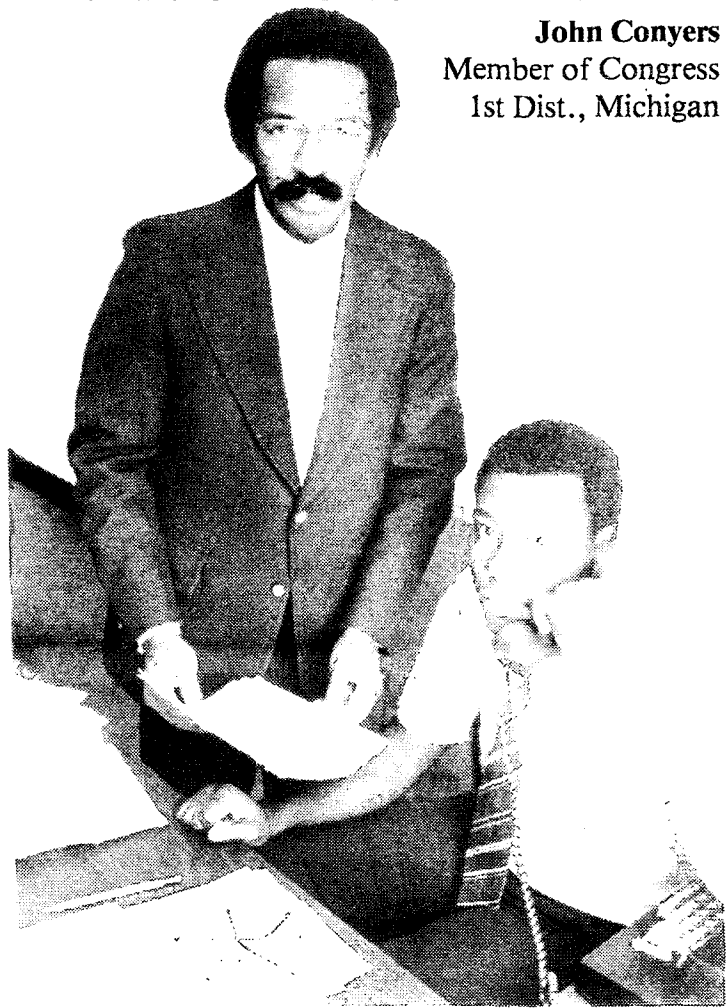
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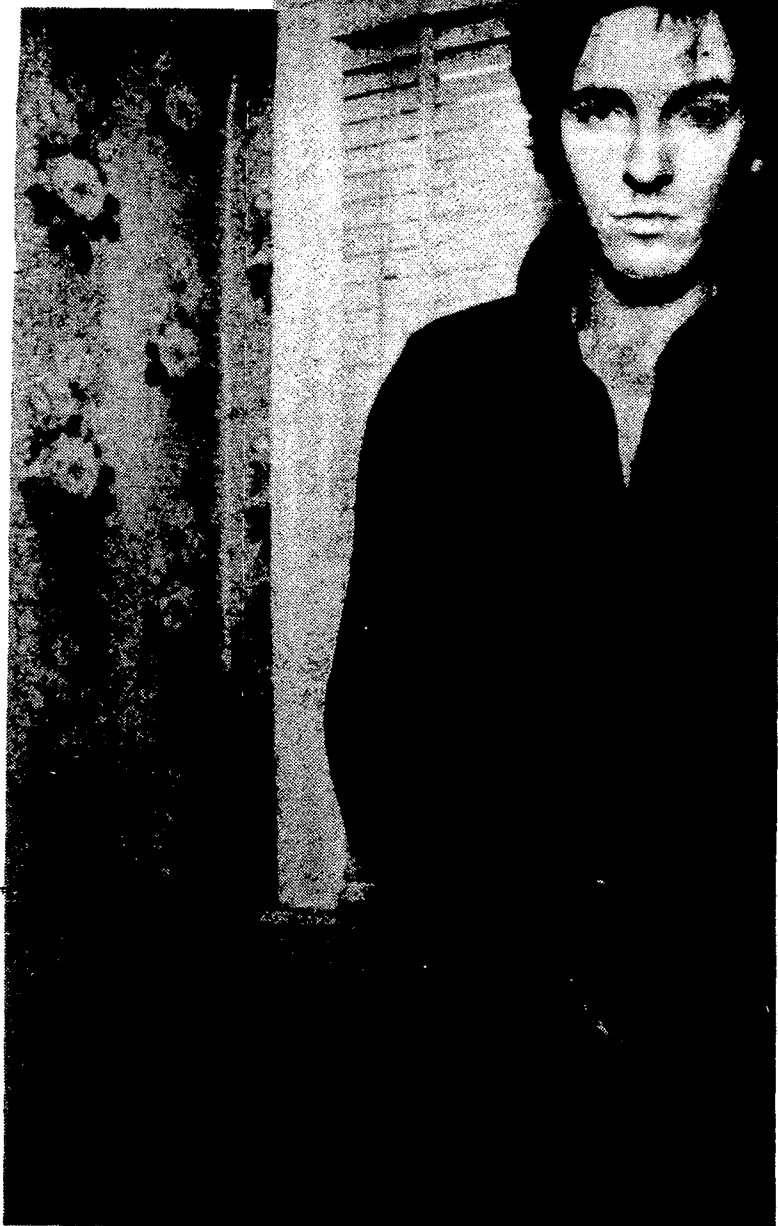
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# Records



## DARKNESS ON THE EDGE OF TOWN

Bruce Springsteen  
(Columbia Records)

When Bruce Springsteen burst upon the rock scene in the early '70s, he was hailed as the successor to Bob Dylan. In rapid succession he released three critically

acclaimed albums and played countless concerts.

Almost overnight, he became a household word, appeared simultaneously on the covers of *Time* and *Newsweek*, became a media event.

But success took its toll. It has been over two years since his last (and best) record, *Born to Run*.

His new album, *Darkness on the Edge of Town* is timed to coincide with a national tour. Springsteen is making news again.

At first glance, he looks tired. On the cover photographs he leans against the bare wall of an undecorated room, looking like a burnt-out James Dean. His skin is pallid, his hair disheveled, and his white T-shirt contrasts starkly with his black leather jacket.

But appearances are often deceptive. *Darkness* is a vibrant and insightful record that interweaves a series of powerful themes into a unified musical statement: a vision of growing up in an urban working class family, full of energy and hope, finally breaking away only to find himself cruising the same streets at night.

He is at his best capturing the hopes and disappointments of urban life. "The Promised Land," "Badlands," and "Prove It All Night" are classic Springsteen rockers: bright, vibrant, driving, evocative lyrics delivered with strength. ("Prove It All Night," the album's single, is currently climbing the AM charts.) "Factory" is an elegant ballad that depicts his blue collar father's hard work.

Coming to terms with his past on "Adam Raised a Cain," a gutsy rock-blues tune featuring his tight guitar solo, Springsteen sings:

*"You're born into this life  
paying,  
for the sins of somebody else's  
past,  
Daddy worked his whole life,  
for nothing but the pain..."*

Perhaps the most revealing cut on the record is "Racing in the Street." In the guise of a hymn about racing his car, Springsteen reveals some of the frustration of working class culture. "Summer's here and the time is right/For racing in the street."

Summer is here, all right. And Bruce Springsteen's *Darkness on the Edge of Town* is like steamy city summer nights: tough, gritty

and stripped of all pretense. It is perhaps the record of the summer of 1978. —Michael S. Kimmel  
Michael S. Kimmel is a free-lance music critic in Berkeley.



## LIFE DANCE OF IS

Oliver Lake  
(Arista/Novus Records)

Novus means new, and *Life Dance of Is*, the latest album by alto saxophonist Oliver Lake, is among the first releases on this just-initiated subsidiary of Arista records.

It has been difficult for experimental musicians to get regular club dates or recording sessions. So, with the help of organizations like St. Louis' Black Artists' Group (of which Lake was a founder), Chicago's Association of Creative Music (started in part by Arista/Novus artists Richard Muhal Abrams and Anthony Braxton) and New York's Collective of Black Artists, they've produced their own concerts and recorded for small (often musician-run) labels. Novus aims to make them available to a larger audience.

Oliver Lake, like Braxton and Roscoe Mitchell of Chicago's Art Ensemble, explores spaces of pause, hesitation and disconnection. His sax breaks short and intense, bursts up and down the scale, skipping notes, leaving the ear or mind to fill the missing

spaces. The piano intervenes like a crosswise color line, Lake returns, reaching out with the sax. Moving against and through constraint, the music is a desire for something different. The directions pursued meld intellect and body heat intensity.

Disjunctive as Lake can be, he also carries that rooted, earth based sensuality which has always defined the best of blues, rock and soul. He once played behind people like Rufus Thomas and Solomon Burke. His swing connotes honkey tonk R&B with hard, tangibly erotic strength.

On *Change One* he uses an African rhythm base, and the harmonica of guitarist Michael Gregory Jackson sounds like Sonny Boy Williamson fused with a sax, halfway between pre-disco Stanley Turrentine and an Arabic call.

The strains weave throughout, and just as you're drained into exhaustion or jarred into lapsed attention, the back beat resumes, a reminder of always-held strength—a base from which flight and exploration can move.

There's a lot of polite jazz these days. Despite the abundance of synthesized space sounds, most is as genuinely funky as the discreet tap of a foot. Exponents like George Benson once played a much tougher sound that earned them little survival money. Their creation is now safe, linear, and, as the radio puts it, "movin' easy music," complete with hummable melodies and well wrapped up loose ends.

Lake's music resists this trend, as does that of his compatriots from the cooperative associations. In his check-backs and breaks there is no safe and settled ground, only aspiration, restless hope and a demand for room to move. One has to work to experience the album's full import. It reflects with richness on a complicated world and its depth makes it worth all necessary effort.

—Paul Loeb

Paul Loeb is a free-lance writer in New York City.

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AFSC, a Quaker service organization that conducts programs with peace education and social change directions, is seeking candidates for the position of Executive Secretary of the North Central Region, based in Des Moines, Iowa. The person sought should have administrative experience, an understanding of Quaker principles, the ability to write clearly, and the ability to speak effectively in public, through media. An ability to supervise and work together with a variety of people on a vast number of issues is also vital. The job demands an extensive amount of travel in a region that covers eight states in the Midwest. A complete job description is available upon request. Applications can be obtained and should be returned to Hank Wellnitz, interim Executive Secretary, American Friends Service Committee, 4211 Grand Ave., Des Moines, IA 50312. Recruitment will end Aug. 18, 1978.

**THE CITIZEN/LABOR ENERGY Coalition**, a national coalition of labor, citizen action, and public interest organizations, is looking for experienced people to do the following jobs: minority and church recruitment and liaison; fundraiser and regional organizer. Experience in direct action community organizations and/or labor organizations preferable. Salary negotiable. Send resume to: Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, 600 West Fullerton, Chicago, IL 60614.

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## MUSIC

# T. Robinson's straight talk on being gay

"Actually, I'm not a guy who knows anything about politics much. My qualification is I know how to play the guitar, and I write songs about just anything I feel," said Tom Robinson in a recent interview given in San Francisco.

For someone who claims to know little about politics Robinson is remarkably able to express the social, economic and political frustrations of England's youth. His gay activism and social awareness, peppered with Johnny Rotten-style anger, has captured and held the imagination of England's rock press for nearly a year.

The most controversial band to emerge since the Sex Pistols, TRB, as they liked to be called, hit the top of the English and the Swedish charts with their first single, "2-4-6-8 Motorway," a song about "a gay truckdriver fancying this motorcyclist as he goes along." The follow-up, "Glad to Be Gay" also hit the top of the charts.

Though Robinson attempts to downplay the activist nature of his band, it is his tirades against oppression of all kinds and his call for solidarity of oppressed people—be they gay, women, third world, punks, or whatever—that makes his band and their records stand out.

Robinson is anything but shy about admitting his sexual preference. But he is quick to emphasize that the other three members of the band—Danny Kustow (lead guitar/vocals), Brian "Dolphin" Taylor (drums/vocals) and Nick Plytas (keyboards/vocals)—are heterosexual.

"Being gay myself," he told San Francisco journalists, "I'm concerned with gay liberation. But I see that as part of an overall and much, much larger picture. You can't demand freedom for gay people without freedom for women, and you can't demand freedom for women without freedom for people of all colors or skins. No way! It isn't possible!"

The son of middle-class English parents, Robinson's empathy for the poor and downtrodden was probably forged during a six-year stay in a British reform school. Freed at 23, he spent a year working as a clerk. ("I wanted to prove to myself that I could work a straight job from nine to five for a full year and support myself.")

Robinson then formed Cafe Society, a group he describes as "a nice inoffensive band that was making music for people to listen to. And they'd say 'That's jolly nice,' and pat you on the back." His developing political consciousness ultimately came into conflict with Cafe Society's lightweight lyrical and musical approach.

"I woke up one day and wrote, 'Fuck this! Fuck discretion and caution!'" He quit the group and by January 1977 he had formed the TRB.

Robinson has been criticized for signing with EMI (England's largest record company) and Capitol Records in the U.S.—a multinational corporation that issues sexist record covers, reinforces

stereotypical male/female roles in its country music releases and has an arms division.

His comment: "Are you kidding or what? If we were on Chiswick Records we might be like a hip thing for some kind of power elite who were able to buy import records. But we wouldn't have reached people in Sweden, or Australia if it wasn't for one of those capitalistic multinational

Stonewall protests in NYC in 1969), "Up Against the Wall" (dedicated to Ann Arbor's activist band, the MC5) and "Right on Sister," with tension relievers like "Grey Cortina" (an ode to his dream car), Robinson and TRB were as comfortable playing English pub songs as in stripped-down Motor-City-style rock'n'roll.

Although Robinson hopes to be successful in the U.S., he is aware of problems that often accompany fame and fortune. "I can't say what the effects of a number one song in the U.S. would do to me. I hope I wouldn't sell out. But I'm not so dumb as to say I never will.

"However, the achievements up to the point where one sells out remain. If we can keep a few kids from joining the National Front, or keep a kid from being beaten up, we've achieved something."

—Michael Goldberg  
Michael Goldberg is a free-lance writer in San Francisco.

## Fears, passions and calls to arms

**POWER IN DARKNESS**  
Tom Robinson Band  
(Harvest Records)

This album is such a perfect mixture of rock, poetry and politics that it makes the music of rock'n'roll millionaires like Peter Frampton or the Eagles look tame, as if they've never heard of Presley or Buddy Holly. It's no accident that Tom Robinson refers in "Long Hot Summer," which closes the first side, to the Who. They also mixed politics and rock in a way that moved thousands of people.

Robinson is a gay revolutionary. His band (TRB) is big in England where they have played a number of concerts for the Rock Against Racism cause and at the Carnival against the Nazis held in London recently.

They do one song, "Winter of '79" about the rise of fascism in England that really makes it sound possible.

*That was the year Nan Harris died,  
and Charlie Jones committed suicide.  
The world we knew busted open wide  
in the winter of '79....  
All the gay geezers were put inside  
and the colored kids were getting crucified.  
Some folks fought and some folks died  
in the winter of '79.*

The politics alternate between subtle ("Martin," a song about his brother, who sticks by him)

and blunt ("Left is right, and right is wrong/Better decide which side you're on.") The cover design is a large fist, and the notes on the back give the address of Rock Against Racism, "Music that knows who the real enemy is."

One of the live tracks is "Right On, Sister," which uses the old feminist slogan: "She's a right on sister/and she knows what she likes/She needs me and you, man/like a fish needs a bike." "Glad To Be Gay," a hit in England, asks male gays if they think it's time to fight back and concludes that you should "sing if you're glad to be gay" and confront anti-gay prejudices and laws.

Capitol Records is worried that the album is too political for the U.S. market—meaning too political for radio stations and record stores. But the album has been put on general releases and sales so far look good.

It isn't all slogans and calls to arms. Robinson sings about fears and passions and falling in love, in a way that is realistic, doesn't dump on people or put other people down. And there is such a good mix of the personal and political, music and lyrics, ideas and rock'n'roll, that *Power in Darkness* transcends the topical setting, transcends 1978.

It's destined to become one of the finest examples of political rock'n'roll. Tell everyone you know.

—Kent Worcester  
Kent Worcester is a member of the International Kent Worcester Socialist Organization.

corporations putting the music over.

"I'll be straight with you. We got turned down by the small independent record companies in Britain. Stiff didn't want to know. Island didn't want to know. Virgin didn't want to know. And the reason they didn't..."

"Is because Tom is gay," said TRB drummer, Brian Taylor.

"And they didn't want to know," said Robinson.

"Now you can't get any more sexist than that," said Taylor.

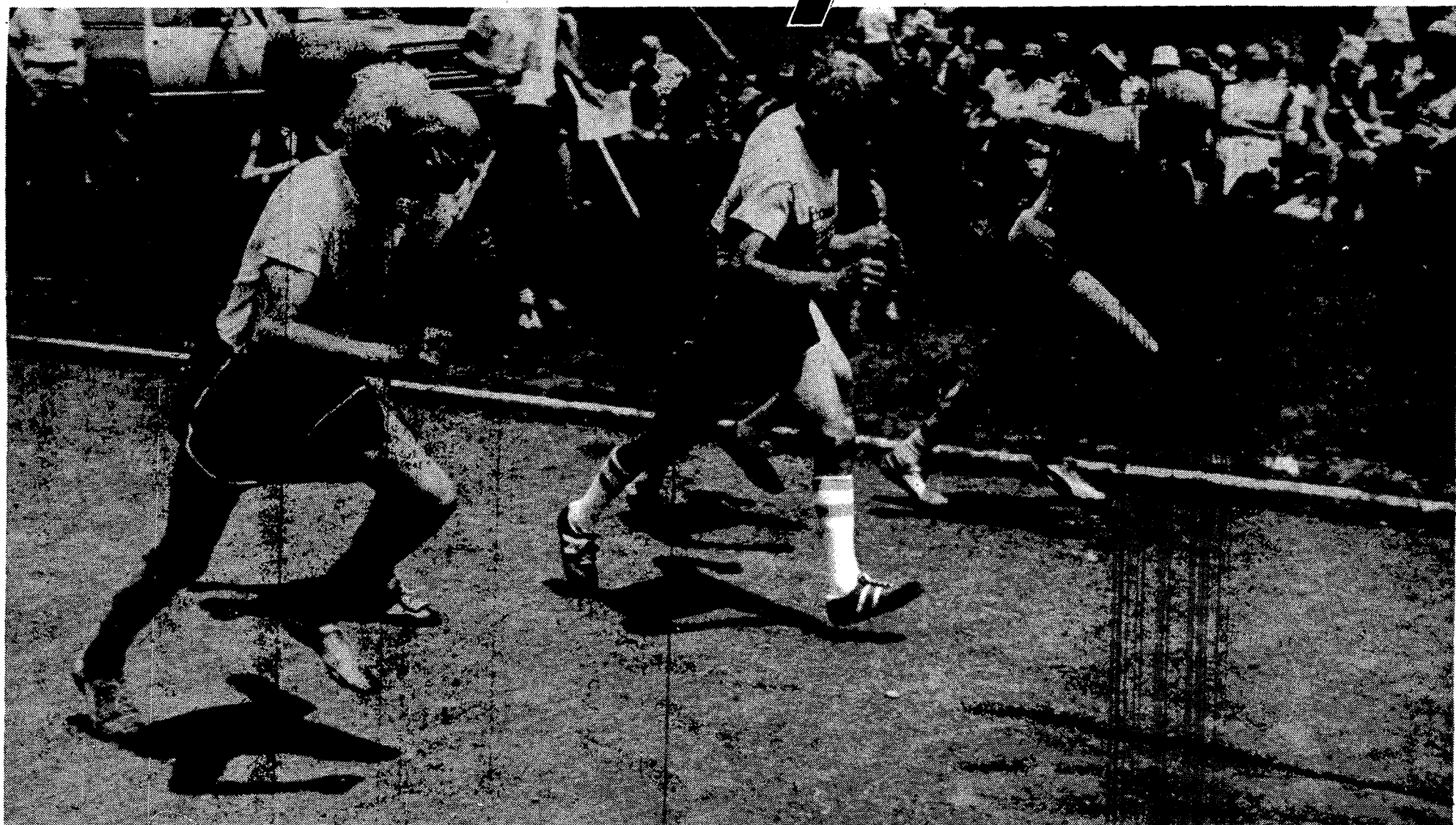
On a whirlwind tour that brought him to San Francisco (as well as Los Angeles and New York), Robinson roused a mixed audience of gays and straights to join in on a music hall/barroom sing-along of "Glad to Be Gay." His reference to "unlucky 13" drew the crowd together like survivors on a life raft. Alternating tough and pointed songs like "Long Hot Summer" (about the



Photo/Michael Goldberg



# You're only old as you feel



Five senior runners begin their 440 yard run during the Senior Citizens Olympics and Sportsfest June 11. Marcus Neuhof (foreground) won the race among the over 60.

By Andrew Irvins

THEY HAD TRAINED ALL SPRING, LOOSENING up long-neglected muscles and rekindling long-ignored interests. The months of exercise and health education paid off for 500 senior citizens who were ready for New York's first Senior Olympics and Sportsfest.

Sports for the People, an organization of athletes and sports activists, brought senior citizens from all over New York City together June 11 for a day of exercise, athletics and health education.

After brief opening speeches welcoming the participants, the program began with a series of "Top-to-Toe" exercises developed especially for the elderly by Ruth Golden, an internationally known yoga expert and herself a senior citizen. Assisted by a simultaneous translation of Golden's instructions into Spanish, the multi-racial group went through the stretching exercises on their feet or in their chairs.

After the exercises, the participants pursued the several activities taking place on the grounds and in the buildings of Bronx Community College. In the pool Marge Bruno led eight novices in a water ballet exercise routine, accompanied by 75 spectators singing "Shine on Harvest Moon" and "For Me and My Gal."

Bruno brought a cheer from the crowd when she called for increased funding for physical culture programs for older citizens so that "next year we can have real costumes and real music."

In one corner of the college's fields, Tai-chi expert George Young taught a group of senior citizens the principles of Tai-chi and led them through a series of movements demonstrating principles of balance and posture.

On the track, some 50 senior citizens

joined in a quarter-mile walk/jog/run. Later, a smaller group competed in a one-mile run, won in the excellent time of 6:25 by Joe McCluskey, 67, a member of the 1932 Olympic team.

Other groups of seniors played shuffleboard, watched and learned each other's folk dances, yoga, or played volleyball.

Throughout the day, most of the elderly citizens visited health-check facilities provided by the People's Health Center, a collective of health-care providers from the South Bronx. More than 400 physical examinations were given by the doctors, nurses and para-medics from the center, who also provided EKG analyses for those who wished it. The licensed acupuncturist from the center was deluged with more than 200 requests for treatment—many participants were obviously excited with a new form of treatment for joints and muscles stiffened with disuse.

## "Sports as a right."

Cary Goodman, Diane DeMauro and Carlos Garcia of Sports for the People co-ordinated the Sportsfest, which was sponsored by the Bronx Community College Center on Aging. The day-long program was the culmination of an effort to bring physical culture to the segment of the population that receives the least exposure to exercise but can gain the most from it.

DeMauro explained their motivation: "Sports for the People believes in sports as a right, and when we looked around at how abused that right was for senior citizens, we decided to accept the challenge. In our society the Tom Seavers are praised and the Billie Jean Kings are feted, but the bodies of most older adults are simply ignored. We set out to do something about that."

The "something" began with a work-

shop in March on "Aging and Exercise." That program trained 60 students, senior citizens, physical educators and sports activists in the techniques and problems involved in bringing physical education to older citizens. After a day of yoga, exercise, role playing and discussion groups, the interested "health catalysts" went to senior citizen centers all over the city to develop physical culture programs offered for one hour per week.

## "You're fired!"

The sessions immediately attracted a devoted core of participants at the centers, and the elderly citizens delighted themselves with the agility, strength and self-confidence they quickly regained.

At the Van Cortland Center in the Bronx, for instance, the Guffenbergs quickly became regulars at the sessions, their good-natured bantering and "shmoozing" keeping everyone in good spirits. At one session, their instructor taught them how to use their natural balance and gravity to make it easy for them to get out of chairs. Mrs. Guffenberg, who said that her husband had been helping her with that chore for years, looked doubtful. But she leaned forward slowly, looked around and got up. Looking around with a proud twinkle in her eye, she spotted her husband and, smiling broadly, pointed her finger and told him, "You're fired!"

So it went all over the city. It was only natural then that the hundreds who had participated all spring turned out for the Senior Olympics. They came from the Henry Street Settlement in Brooklyn, the Canaan Baptist Church in Harlem, and Co-op City in the Bronx (many veterans of the long rent-strike struggle there of a year ago).

Besides the program of exercises and

health check-ups, Sports for the People provided a high-protein lunch of soybean, tofu, onion and chive spread on whole wheat bread, garnished with sprouts. The seniors were able to take home packets of information about the Top-to-Toe exercises, nutrition and health. Perhaps best of all, they left knowing that the program would continue all summer, with Sports for the People training youth core workers to visit the senior centers and provide more exercise and health classes.

## Providing for their own needs.

It was the kind of event that demonstrated the kind of success that grass-roots organizations such as Sports for the People, the People's Health Center and the Center for Aging could achieve where the organized bureaucracies had failed. Officials of the New York City Parks Department and Department of Aging have admitted that they had been trying to stage a similar event for years without success.

By beginning the task among the senior citizens themselves, the groups that organized the Senior Olympics were able to develop a program that met the seniors' needs and encouraged them to take the extra steps to provide for themselves—something "guardians" in government had been unable or unwilling to do.

The day ended on the same spirited note with which it began, when Cary Goodman of Sports for the People reminded the senior citizens, sports activists and volunteers that by providing their own physical culture programs such as the Senior Olympics and Sportsfest they were also demanding that park, recreation and health facilities available to everyone can and must be created.

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Sports for the People's Senior Olympics is in marked contrast to the city's inability to mount a similar program of its own.